CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

I.S.B.N.

THESES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèsé soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL-339 (r. 82/08)

Canada

94

0-315-12409-1

National Library of Canada | Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Division | Division des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

60320

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

ANA MARÍA C. FANTINO

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

Sept. 21 / 1944

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

Argentina

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

407 Michener Park - Edmonton - T6H 4M5
Alberta.

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

Psychosocial Processes of Immigrants' Adaptation:
Chileans and Argentinians in Canada.

University — Université

University of Alberta.

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

Master of Education

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1982.

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

Dr. Peter Calder

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date

June 4, 1982.

Signature

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PSYCHOSOCIAL PROCESSES OF IMMIGRANTS' ADAPTATION: CHILEANS AND ARGENTINIANS IN CANADA

by

(C) ANA MARIA CIPOLATTI DE FANTINO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1982

MICROFILMING

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Ana Maria Cipolatti de Fantino

TITLE OF THESIS Psychosocial Processes of Immigrants' Adaptation: Chileans and Argentinians in Canada.

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Education in Counselling Psychology.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1982

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(Signed) [signature]

PERMANENT ADDRESS:
407 Michener Park
Edmonton, Alberta
T6H 4M5

DATED March 25 1982

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Psychosocial Processes of Immigrants' Adaptation : Chileans and Argentinians in Canada " submitted by Ana Maria C. Fantino in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Counselling Psychology.

Supervisor

Date. March 25 1982

To my grandparents: Swiss,
Italian and German immigrants
in Argentina.

To my children: Argentinian
immigrants in Canada.

ABSTRACT

The general purpose of this study was to describe and interpret the psychosocial adaptation processes of Latin American immigrants in Canada. The study was restricted to the initial five years of immigrants' residency in the host country. Observations and data collection were made during one year from a population of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Home setting personal interviews and participant observations were the main source of empirical information, complemented with materials from ethnic periodicals, television and radio programmes, and participation in social gatherings and community events.

A stage model of the psychological processes of immigrants was constructed. The model is based on the following four stages:

(1) Arrival and provisional settlement in the host country.
   - Impact of culture shock.
   - Psychological dynamics: fear of the unknown and fear of loss; the grieving process.

(2) 'Honeymoon' stage.
- Control of fears.
- Renewal of expectations and hopes.

(3) Conflicts and crisis of identity.
- Areas of language, work, family relationships and personal identity.

(4) Resolutions: adaptive strategies.

Description of each of the four stages comprises the common situations immigrants go through, the psychological dynamics and processes they experience, and the interpretation of these phenomena.

The main findings are related to the description and interpretation of special configurations of anxieties and coping strategies that are found to be typical of this group of immigrants.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Dr. Peter Calder, for his assistance, understanding and continuous encouragement through this thesis.

To Dr. Bruce Bain, for his concern, support and enlightening dialogues.

To Dr. Jorge Padua, for our Latin American encounters in Canada.

To the Chileans and Argentinians who generously offered their time and, most of all, their lived experiences and without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

A mis amigos argentinos y chilenos viviendo ahora en diferentes partes del mundo, quienes compartieron mi inquietud y ofrecieron su ayuda generosa. Gracias en particular a: Prof. Clotilde Yapur, Lic. Raul Courel, Lic. Totty Bosatta, Dr. Carlos Kirschbaum, Dr. Gustavo Cirigliano y Lic. Mario Allende.

To Lupita and David Lambert who, helping with my process of 'thinking in Spanish, writing in English', have offered me their warm friendship.

To Alberto, for the love and constant encouragement, and at times endurance, he has given me all these years.

To Gabriel and Celina, my children, just for being what they are.

To my mother, who has taught me more about the courage of being human than all the books I have read.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I	Introduction	1
	Statement of Purpose	7
	Limitations	8
	Overview	9
II	A Review and Discussion on Psychosocial Models of Immigrants' Adaptation	10
	Assimilation Models	11
	Desocialization-Resocialization Approach	11
	Alienation-Assimilation Approach	14
	Satisfaction-Identification-Acculturation Approach	16
	Comment on Assimilation Models	17
	Acculturation Models	19
	Levels	21
	Comment on Acculturation Models	22
	Socio-Psychoanalytic Approach	23
	Psychological Impact of Adaptive Process	26
	Comment on Socio-Psychoanalytic Approach	32
III	Research Methodology and Procedures	33
	Population	33
	Method and Procedures	34
	The Model	36
	Definition of Terms and Concepts	37

Chapter		Page
IV	A Stage Model of Immigrant Psychological Adaptation	44
	Stage I: Arrival in the Host Country	45
	First Impressions: Impact of Culture Shock	48
	Psychological Dynamics: Fear of the Unknown, Fear of Loss	52
	The Grieving Process	55
	Stage II: 'Honeymoon' Period	63
	Stage III: Conflicts and Crisis of Identity	69
	Crisis of Identity	75
	Stage IV: Resolutions: Adaptive Strategies	81
	Living Within the Limits of the Co-national Community	84
	Returning Home	85
	Suicidal Attempts	86
	Assimilation and Pseudo-identity	87
	Integration: Towards Bi- or Multiculturalism.	88
V	Summary and Conclusions	90
	Concluding Remarks	94
Bibliography		96
Appendix		104
	Excerpts from Interviews and Immigrants' Letters	104

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Migration represents a major life change which affects individuals and groups. Uprootment from their socio-cultural environment, as any other sudden and dramatic social change, represents a split in the immigrants' inner and outer circumstances. The process of resettlement in a new society produces anxieties, fears, and both emotional and cognitive stress, which might in turn disrupt the individuals' sense of wholeness and centeredness known as personal identity.

Identity in the Eriksonian sense is the core of the individual's personal characteristics, which are, however, culturally and historically grounded. Immigrants are individuals who cross the boundaries of their own socio-cultural groups and undergo a process of integration into a new society. As Erikson wrote in 1975:

> ... Emigration can be a hard and hearless matter, in terms of what is abandoned in the old country and what is usurped in the new one. Migration means cruel survival in identity terms too, for the very cataclysms in which millions perish open up new forms of identity to the survivors. (P.43)

Argentinian and Chilean immigrants, on whom this study focuses, have been pushed to other countries in the last decade mainly by adverse political and economic situations in their original societies. They were attracted by countries offering the possibilities of immigration and employment opportunities. Perhaps one of the 'pull' factors was, where choice was possible, the possibility of the smoother transition allowed by similarity in language and culture.

Although there is no reliable information, it is considered that the countries which received the bulk of Argentinian and Chilean immigrants were Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, the United States, and Canada in the Americas, and Spain, Italy, France, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and England in Europe. The effects of culture shock are reported by South American immigrants and refugees in countries such as Mexico, Venezuela, and Spain, but it is assumed that these effects were increased by the enlargement of cultural distance and language barriers between the immigrant group and the host country, as is the case for Chileans and Argentinians in Canada.

Most of the literature concerning Latin American immigrants originates in the United States and deals

particularly with Mexican, Puerto Rican, and most recently with Cuban immigrants (Greber et al, 1970; Martinez, 1977; Padilla, 1980). Very little has been written about the recent influx of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in both the United States and Canada.

It has not been until recently that social scientists have started studying the psychological aspects of the processes of immigrant adaptation to new cultures. In spite of the impressive amount of research on immigration in Canada and the United States, little has been devoted to the intrapsychic processes of immigrants and research is almost nonexistent for the case of Latin Americans. As is stated by M. Suh:

> Although immigration has played a central role in the history of civilization and in the development of nations and continents, the social-psychological dynamics of the process of immigration and resettlement have received relatively little attention. (Suh, 1980).

The purpose of this study is to contribute towards a better understanding of the psychological aspects of immigrant adaptation which, in turn, it is hoped, may contribute to fill in some gaps in the research on this field.

In the first place, a critical review of the literature is made. This review intends to show that traditional approaches to migration result insufficient or roughly inadequate when interpreting the phenomenon of psychological adaptation of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in Canada. Therefore, it should be clear that the inclusion of the review does not mean this research is theoretically based on these approaches. Rather, a model has been constructed in order to reflect basic observed facts and reactions of immigrants, and as a framework for their psychological interpretation, although some relevant elements of these approaches, particularly the socio-psychoanalytic perspective, are built in the model.

In particular, it will be noted how the 'assimilation' approach bears the assumption of a 'subtractive' process in the development of immigrants' cultural and personal identity, which neither seems to correspond with a culturally diversified society such as Canada, nor takes into account the variety of adaptive modes that immigrants show, nor reflects the fact that if the society reshapes the identity of immigrants, it is, in turn, reshaped by the immigrants' modes of adaptation. The second type of approach to be reviewed consists of the 'acculturation' models. As they refer to long term processes of interaction between two

different cultural groups, they are not adequate for the short and medium term processes of immigrants' adaptation which are the subject of this research. It can be said that when the description of this initial adaptation process is completed, the subsequent developments would make the acculturation approach more relevant.

The most relevant antecedent to this study is a contemporary mode of research done in Europe and Latin American countries dealing with recent immigration from Argentina and Chile. These studies approach the psychological problems of immigration from a socio-psychoanalytic perspective which has yielded useful insights in describing intrapsychic processes of human behaviour.

My experiences as an immigrant and counsellor of Spanish-speaking immigrants and refugees in Denmark and Canada have served not only as a genuine source of interest in this problem, but as a challenge and a commitment. A paragraph by Ariel Dorfman, a Chilean author, epitomizes my encounter with the study of immigration:

> Exile to me is an experience too close to my throat on which to elaborate theories. I prefer to keep on conjuring images... (Originally in Spanish. Trans. mine).

At times I wondered whether it would not be better to let poets and artists capture the essence and nuances of this human experience, about which we feel so much and know so little. At the same time, however, I felt that for Latin American immigrants this is a moment for reflection on the experiences of thousands of people who fled their homelands and who have faced the 'cruel survival' that Erikson refers to; a broad dialogue emphasizing meaning and intentionality in communication in order to overcome language difficulties and stereotypes.

The process of reflection and dialogue, which has already begun for Latin American immigrants, bears the hopeful desire of broadening awareness and understanding of old questions of human identity: permanency vs. change; sameness vs. uniqueness. This process is also aimed at contributing to what seems to be a challenge of our times: the improvement of social coexistence in cultural diversity.

Statement of Purpose

Addressing the psychological processes which occur when adults begin life in a new socio-cultural environment away from their familiar surroundings, the purpose of this study is two-fold.

Firstly a description and secondly an interpretation of the psychological processes which occur during the initial years after migration will be undertaken; special emphasis will be placed on the case of adult Argentinian and Chilean immigrants in Canada. For the purposes of description, a stage model has been developed which contains the main features of psychological processes of adaptation observed in immigrants. The stage model is aimed at delineating sets of characteristics in this process which are predominant at given moments in time.

This thesis is exploratory by nature and attempts to illustrate that the stage model presented here facilitates description and interpretation. The model may also become instrumental in practical situations of cross-cultural counselling.

Limitations

It is considered in this study that a stage model is appropriate to describe and organize the major elements found in empirical situations, but it is not claimed that this model will represent the psychological processes of individuals in all cases; it is only used as an analytical tool aimed at description and interpretation.

In the context of the acculturation process, which is of considerable duration, this study deals only with its initial phase (five years), which may better be regarded as adaptation.

The sample is restricted to immigrants who have arrived in Canada as adults. The characteristics of the adaptation process for younger individuals remains unexamined. The sample is also limited to Argentinian and Chilean immigrants presently living in Edmonton. The experiences of these immigrants in other Canadian cities have not been considered.

As this study is exploratory, it is therefore not intended to control the relative weight of intervening

variables and their interactions. Rather, it is aimed at gaining an understanding of the adaptive process as a whole and at helping to identify the influential factors in the area.

Overview

Chapter I gives an introduction to the study, its purpose and limitations.

Chapter II includes a review of related literature and critical comment on the current approaches to immigrants' adaptive processes.

Chapter III includes a description of research methodology and procedures, and a definition of terms.

Chapter IV presents a four stage model of psychological adaptation of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in Canada.

Chapter V gives a summary of the study and concluding remarks.

The Appendix includes a thematic selection of excerpts from interviews.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW AND DISCUSSION ON PSYCHOSOCIAL MODELS OF IMMIGRANTS' ADAPTATION

Studies on immigrants' adaptation can be grouped into three broad categories according to the parameters which each encompasses:

I. Assimilation Models

II. Acculturation Models

III. Socio-Psychoanalytic Models

These categories are derived from different theoretical perspectives and apply to different immigrant groups and processes of integration.

Loosely, it is possible to characterize the first group as coming from a European theoretical background and applied to receiving societies such as Israel, Australia and the United States. The acculturation models in their most recent versions presented here, derive from and apply to the North American experience with immigration. The third category includes the socio-psychoanalytic approach, a term used here to denote the merging synthesis of concepts coming from Freudian and Neo-Freudian

psychoanalysis and social theories. Socio-psychoanalytic models are employed by Latin American psychologists and other social theorists to characterize events of the contemporary influx of Latin American immigrants and refugees into Europe and other Latin American countries.

I. Assimilation Models

(a) Desocialization-resocialization approach.

Einsenstadt's classical work (1954) is still widely used to approach the complex problem of migration. In this view, the psychological aspects of immigrants' integration must be understood within the concrete situations of absorption. Einsenstadt defines migration as the "physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another" (p.1). He distinguishes three main stages in the migratory process: (1) the motivation for migration; (2) the migratory process itself; and (3) absorption into the new society.

The decision to migrate includes the 'push' factors in the sending society, the 'pull' factors of the receiving society, and the personal motives, expectations and attitudes of migrants (Margulis, 1974). Einsenstadt considers immigrants' basic feelings of frustration and

inadequacy in the original society as the underlying motive for migration. Those feelings, however, are usually attached only to some spheres of life in the old society and they will, therefore, partially determine the individual's expectations to be fulfilled in the new society. He/she can expect, for instance, only to attain some economic goals and he/she may not be willing to make any change in other aspects of his/her life, such as family relations. However, in Einsenstadt's view, the migratory process and absorption into the new society always involve some degree of desocialization and resocialization.

Desocialization is observed in the narrowing of the social participation sphere (lowering the number of roles the individual used to play and groups in which he was engaged), and also in giving up or transforming his status, set of values, and expectations. As the immigrant cannot usually attain a definite new value system, feelings of anxiety and insecurity arise in that non-structured situation. The first period of the immigrants' new lives will be marked by the need to overcome difficulties in the new society, and to solve the original inadequacy which led them to migrate. The latter will also determine the immigrants' readiness to change and adapt to their new environment.

From the immigrants' point of view, absorption into the new society implies a learning aimed at achieving their role expectations. It can be seen as a resocialization process because it includes learning the basics of physical and social survival in the new society, i.e., language, communication skills, ecological orientation, etc. They must also learn how to perform various new roles and, finally, they will rebuild their value systems and their self-image in the process, in order to make their expectations compatible with the available opportunities in the host society.

All of this, however, may be insufficient if a widening of social participation does not take place. Immigrants must secure channels of communication and participation with the larger society, beyond their primary groups. This involves gradual identification with ultimate values and symbols, feelings of belonging to, and active participation in, the host society. This process, however, is neither linear nor smooth nor always successful.

Absorption takes place in a given social structure. The host society has expectations of immigrants and places

demands on them. It will fix, to a large extent, the limits and possibilities of the immigrants' absorption at the formal and informal levels.

Finally, the proposed indicators of full absorption are: (1) acculturation: learning and internalization of the new patterns of behaviour; (2) personal adjustment; (3) institutional dispersion: immigrants are full participants in different spheres of social, political, and economic life and have no separate identity.

Eisenstadt's theoretical and methodological framework has been further tested in several applied researches. Among them are the study of the Italian community in Toronto (Jansen, 1971), the phenomena of internal migration in Argentina (Margulis, 1974), and the process of desocialization and resocialization in the assimilation of immigrants in Israel (Bar-Yosef, 1968). Further, theoretical and methodological refinements of Eisenstadt's approach can be found in Germani (1965).

(b) Alienation-assimilation approach.

Following the general guidelines of Eisenstadt, the alienation-assimilation approach represents an attempt

to reconceptualize the desocialization process in terms of alienation. M.L. Kovacs and A.J. Cropley (1975) present this point of view by arguing that the psychology of immigration has to include the recognition of the role of alienation. They deal extensively with the case of immigrants belonging to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in Australia. In the authors' view, "at the very time immigrants are being assimilated in the new society, they are experiencing alienation from the ways of their former homeland" (p.6). Immigrants can also be in a state of marginality, alienated from both old and new cultures.

The authors regard alienation as a sense of loneliness, meaninglessness, powerlessness and fragmentation stemming from detachment of some supportive relationship, specifically that which comes from the community. Communal relationships give a sense of cohesiveness, meaning and purpose to life ('dignity'). Inversely, a sense of belonging or solidarity with a group and the sense of relative control of one's own life tend to reduce alienation.

From the point of view of the receiving society, Kovacks and Cropley suggest a multicultural model of assimilation can alleviate the negative consequences of alienation.

(c) Satisfaction-identification-acculturation approach.

A. Richardson (1967) developed a model for the psychological study of assimilation.(*) Three stages are described in the process of assimilation: satisfaction, identification, and acculturation. For Richardson, changes in satisfaction levels (following an elation-depression pattern) are more frequently observed during the first two years of the immigrant's stay, showing a tendency to stabilize in the following years.

Establishment and satisfaction in economic, occupational, residential, and social aspects of life are considered as necessary, but not always sufficient conditions for the development of a sense of attachment to the host country. However, for the adult British immigrant in Australia with four or five years of residence, a change is commonly observed in his/her original national identity - he/she tends to feel "more Australian than British" (Richardson, 1967, p.13). Yet, acculturation is not only the feeling of belonging to the host group, but the actual adoption of the group's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours. A distinction is made between three kinds of acculturation: obligatory

(*) The author's research is mainly focused on the study of British immigrants in Australia.

(e.g. changing some elements of diet, clothing habits, climate adaptation, etc.); advantageous (e.g. adopting some manners which, while not mandatory, would facilitate adaptation); and optional (e.g. some aspects of speech and gesture). The former two are regarded as adaptive behaviour and the latter as expressive behaviour which, though not required of a newcomer, if prematurely adopted can lead to rejection.

The provisional conclusion drawn from this study is that a certain measurable level of satisfaction is the necessary prerequisite for a certain measurable level of identification which, in turn, is a condition for a certain measurable level of acculturation.

Comment on Assimilation Models

From the point of view of the recipient society, these approaches imply the assumption of an assimilation policy regarding the integration of immigrants. Whatever the modalities it assumes, melting pot or pressure cooker (Berry, 1974), it bears the idea of a subtractive process in the development of the immigrant's personal and cultural identity, at least for the first generation.

Although immigrant adaptation always seems to require some degree of desocialization (disintegration of old ways) and resocialization (learning the language, new roles and skills, etc.), it is neither necessary nor desirable that changes take place in a disruptive fashion at the expense of destroying valuable cultural and personal traits.

The multicultural view of society offers not only the possibility of a smoother process of adaptation, but a different conception of what it is to be a member of the society. In principle, it represents for the immigrant a shift from 'how to appear to belong to the society's mainstream', and how well and fast a person can erase his/her origins, especially if they do not fit that society's expectations, to an integration into the society based on mutual respect for differences, equality of opportunities, shared social responsibilities, and creative interaction (I.F.I.A.S., 1975). The official policy of multiculturalism in countries such as Canada and Switzerland seems to represent a step forward in that direction.

For the purposes of this study, it is considered that a model based on the absorption of immigrants to the

mainstream of society will do no justice first, to the variety of adaptive modes that immigrants display, and second, to a receptor society such as Canada. Adaptation into the Canadian ethnic mosaic may present substantial differences in comparison with the same process in societies which hold a 'mainstream minority' orientation (the immigrant's self-concept may differ widely in each society) (Berry, 1982).

II. Acculturation Models

The term acculturation refers to wide and complex phenomena. When two groups of individuals with different cultures come into contact, it is possible to speak of a process of acculturation referring to the ensuing changes in the original patterns which will occur in both or either groups (Redfield, 1936). Excellent reviews of the use of the term acculturation can be found in Berry (1980) and Abou (1976). As historical experience has shown, the relationship between two cultural groups has not always been accomplished in egalitarian terms so as to permit an interchange and mutual modifications. The relationship is usually one of domination of one group over the other. This leads Berry (1980, p. 10) to suggest that "what happens between contact and change

may be difficult, reactive and conflictual rather than a smooth transition".

According to Berry (1974, 1980), there are three phases in acculturation: contact, conflict, and adaptation. Adaptation, viewed as a reduction of conflict, includes three main modalities: adjustment, reaction, and withdrawal. In adjustment there is a movement toward the larger society resulting in: (a) assimilation, or giving up one's own cultural identity and merging with nationals, or (b) integration, which implies positive relations with the host community as well as retention of cultural identity. Reaction implies a movement against the dominant society, identified as the source of conflict (e.g. ethno-political organizations). Withdrawal implies moving away from the larger or dominant society. If the decision of withdrawal is taken by the ethnic group, this results in a form of rejection, which, in turn, leads to segregation when imposed by the dominant society. Finally, there is the deculturation modality, in which the group is isolated from the original culture as well as from the larger society. If the decision to withdraw is imposed on the group, this represents a form of ethnocide. However, if this decision is taken by the immigrants, they can survive as a marginal group.

It is important to note that in this approach, assimilation (or absorption) is one of the possible varieties of adaptation, whereas in Einsenstadt's view it was seen as the only or more desirable outcome of the acculturative process.

Levels. The term acculturation was most frequently used in anthropological studies and it was referred to as a group phenomenon, but as Berry (1980) points out, acculturation is a process susceptible to analysis on at least two levels: group and individual.

A more precise definition of levels distinguishes between "psychological acculturation" (Graves, 1967) and the approaches which take an anthropological or sociological point of view. It is important to note that psychology does not concern only individuals; groups are also susceptible to analysis from a psychological point of view. In addition, there has been in recent years an increased concern of psychologists for issues traditionally ascribed to sociologists and anthropologists.

Selim Abou (1976) refers to two broad categories of psychological tensions which are present to a greater or lesser degree during acculturation: perceptual and emotional tensions.

Padilla, Szapocznick, Keefe and Torres Matrullo (1980) studied the Hispanic American population in the United States. They present different models for the study of acculturation and empirical evidence. The Hispanic American is one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States and it is chiefly composed of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans. Even though the general term 'Hispanic' also includes South Americans, no research is presented on this group. The authors explore some of the psychological responses to acculturation considered by Berry (1974, 1980): stress, attitudes, identity, personality, and also the acculturative model presented by Padilla, whose main concepts are cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty.

Comment on Acculturation Models

Although interesting, acculturation is a concept that can only be used with some caution in the study of the process of adaptation of first generation immigrants. The studies of acculturation done so far seem to refer to cultural groups that have been in contact for a much longer period of time (e.g. Mexicans and Anglo Americans) than those which are the subject of this study.

This prolonged contact, in some cases along four or five generations, allows us to observe a process of acculturation and, especially, its results in a broader perspective than would be possible with newcomers. On the other hand, although a psychological perspective is claimed, little is explored in terms of the intra-psychic processes of individuals and groups in contact.

III. Socio-psychoanalytic approach

The term 'socio-psychoanalytic' is loosely used here to include several methodological approaches for the study of immigrants and refugees. These approaches are generally based on combined concepts derived from: (a) classical and neo-classical psychoanalytic sources - i.e., 'narcissism' (S. Freud), 'mourning work' (S. Freud, M. Klein, D. Lagache); (b) social psychology - i.e., 'identity' (Erikson), 'active adaptation' (E. Pichon Rivers); (c) sociological and historico-political analysis.

The majority of the works under this approach refer to Latin Americans, more specifically South American refugees(*) in Latin American countries and in Europe.

(*) The term 'refugee' is not intended to refer to the legal status of the person in the host country. It is aimed at broadly distinguishing the group of persons who suffered some kind of political-ideological persecution and for these reasons were forced to leave their original country.

Vasquez (1979) and Delgueil and Rodriguez (1978) analyse some psychological problems of this group in France; Ganuza (1979) in Sweden; Duarte and Seguel (1977), Hernandez Walker (1979), Morten (1977) and Fantino (1980) in Denmark; Grupo de Investigadores Latinoamericanos (1980) in Venezuela; and Berman (1979) in Mexico.

Difficulties in the adaptation process.

Problems of adaptation to the labour market are reported for Latin Americans living in European countries such as France, Sweden, and Denmark. One of the causes for this situation in Sweden quoted by Ganuza is the high percentage of Latin American refugees with university studies in social sciences and humanities, specializations which have low demand in the present Swedish labour market, in addition to requiring a rather elaborate knowledge of the Swedish language. There is a considerable number of refugees who are studying (post secondary, technical and university level) subsidized by scholarships and loans from the Swedish government. Of a sample of 126 refugees living in Stockholm and Kronoberg (arrived in 1975-76), it was found that 35% were studying under some kind of subsidy (Ganuza, 1979, p.6).

There is also in Sweden a considerable number of refugees who, after three or four years of residency, receive direct or indirect financial aid from the social welfare system. However, according to Ganuza, workers with or without specialization seem to be experiencing a relatively low degree of maladjustment. The situation is similar in Denmark.

In France, according to Vasquez, a substantial part of the exiles have no legal status as political refugees, and they reside as students or tourists. Consequently, it is extremely difficult to obtain any kind of reliable data on the number and characteristics of this population. However, she describes the exile of many South Americans in France as a phenomenon of regressive social mobility - in the sense that there is no recognition of their knowledge, qualifications and degrees. Their situation is what she calls one of "ignored knowledge" (p. 4). This is consistent with the testimonies recorded by Neves (1980) in Paris. It can be added, following this author, that some of the refugees' concerns are also related to the exploitative labour relationships and the marginal jobs - usually the hardest, most uncomfortable and poorly payed - that they are forced to accept in order to survive.

Concerning cultural adaptation, the main difficulty reported is with the new language - especially in its communicative function, which includes nonverbal ways of expression (gesture, mimics). Following closely and interrelated with the former, are differences in cultural values, mainly those concerning the role of the family, female and male roles, education of children, patterns of social behaviour, and utilization of leisure time (Ganuza, 1979; Vasquez, 1979; Neves, 1980). It is also apparent that some of the difficulties in adaptation arise out of the previously mentioned situation of relative structural marginality, and also from experiences of overt or covert discrimination.

The works of Hernandez Walker and Perez (1978, 1979), deal extensively with the problems of learning a new language and, at the same time, maintaining a cultural and personal identity in a situation of subordinated minority for first and second generation Latin American immigrants in Denmark.

Psychological Impact of the Process of Adaptation.

The purpose of this section is to consider the main features of personal identity modifications and

perturbations. The common findings reported in the literature refer to and can be summarized by the following psychological dimensions and processes:

(1) Modifications in the body-schema.
(2) Modifications in the spatial-temporal dimension.
(3) Modifications in the area of language and communication.
(4) Immigration as a work of mourning.

(1) Modifications in the body-schema.

The notion of 'tall' and 'short', for example, has to be modified according to the physical differences between Latin Americans and Europeans, and to the social connotations attached to it. 'Tall' is associated with positive connotations but an individual considered 'tall' in Chile may be considered 'short' according to European standards (Vasquez, 1979). There are also cases in which the body or some of its functions have suffered concrete modifications or impairments as a consequence of imprisonment and tortures (Amnesty International, 1977), such as diminished hearing, vision, sexual functions, etc., or illness acquired as a result of psycho-physical processes of adaptation to a new environment, such as diabetes, asthma, gastrointestinal upset, etc.

(2) Modifications in the spatial-temporal dimension.

Expulsion of individuals from their original country, perceived failure of the socio-political projects of their own generation, and physical dispersion imply a rupture in their psychological representations of time and space; the notion of historical continuity is broken. The observed reactions, taken from oral and written testimonies, are:

(a) a sense of starting life again (rebirth);

(b) the past is very remote, there are only memories of childhood, the immediate past is suppressed:

> Yes, Argentina is my country, it is the smell of pines and Grandma. But now I don't understand what is happening there. I read the Argentinian newspapers and to me it is like they were written in a foreign language. It seems to me that the history of my country has been disrupted...
>
> (Grupo de Investigadores Latinoamericanos, 1980)

The same researchers have also observed confusions related to time, including: (1) doubts about dates of departure, age of children; (2) sensations of sudden spiritual aging; and (3) sensations of having been robbed of one stage in life:

> It is like a big jump. Suddenly, you have been sent 100 meters up into the air, and when you land on earth, what has happened there? You did not live that part ...
>
> (Grupo de Investigadores Latinoamericanos, 1980)

(c) a fluent exchange between the three time dimensions - the past, the present reality of exile, and future projects - has been observed in other immigrants; new experiences are discussed; new projects come into being.

For the first groups of refugees in Europe, especially Chilean refugees, exile was considered a transitory stage in life: their settlement was provisory, as evidenced by the scarce furnishing of homes - empty and impersonal as hotel rooms, and well below their economic means; their personal belongings semi-packed, as if preparing for an imminent return (Fantino, 1980). These individuals experience some restraints in establishing more permanent relationships with nationals, in addition to the isolation and segregation which they can experience as foreigners. They also have difficulties in establishing projects for the medium and long range future. Everything is imbibed with the quality of being transient. However, it is noted by Vasquez (1979) and others, that as time passes by, the probabilities of returning home diminish are the realistic basis for the idea of a transitory stage are shaken. This leads refugees to review their situation and to search for new strategies of adaptation.

(3) Modifications in the area of language and communication.

Morten (1977) and Fantino (1980) reported some experiences of people struggling to communicate in a new language in a changed context of meaning for non-verbal expressions, and the ensuing modifications in the sense of personal identity.

Learning a new language in the context of migration to a monolingual society, bears for the immigrant a sudden inhability to communicate properly, even - or especially - in most everyday situations. This leads to a child-like attitude which is the determinant for feelings of shame, inferiority, and, in some cases, withdrawal. Others make an effort to perform behaviours which they assume are expected of them in order to compensate for the lack of verbal skills and to be accepted. The result of this dependent attitude is the feeling of being determined by others what they should feel and do, a personal sense of non-authenticity and also a gradual progression of identity confusion. For those who can overcome the difficult period of language learning and can achieve a relative mastering of both languages accompanied by a situation of structural incorporation to the host society, there is the experience of gains rather than losses in the sense of personal identity (enhancement of cultural sensitivity, critical perception, flexibility, etc.).

(4) Immigration as a work of mourning.

Uprootment and its psychological consequences are interpreted as a process of mourning and elaboration of loss (Grupo de Investigadores Latinoamericanos, 1980; Berman, 1979; Vasquez, 1979). These aspects are particularly emphasized in the research on Latin American immigrants and refugees living in Latin American countries.

As in the process of mourning studied by Freud (1915) and Klein (1977), feelings of pain and guilt are reported. Guilt could be related to the loved ones left behind and to the original country itself, but it is particularly strong when it is related to fellow companions who are in prison or have disappeared.

As a form of coping with the demands of the superego and of guilt feelings, individuals can force themselves to become involved in multiple activities - those necessary for their subsistence, and those which will be useful to their country and their people (i.e., solidarity movements). This behaviour was particularly apparent in Chilean communities in Europe during the first years of exile.

Comment on the Socio-psychoanalytic approach

The works summarized in this section represent the first genuine effort of intellectual South American immigrants to reflect upon the problems of their own generation living abroad. They are useful for this study, one the one hand, because their subject population was composed of Latin Americans, and they focus on social and intra-psychic processes of immigrants and refugees. On the other hand, the use of a psychoanalytic approach and, at the same time, a critical sociological approach (based mainly on Marxist assumptions) seems to promise a fruitful approximation to the problem. It should be noted, however, as a constraint, that these two approaches often appear in these works as two separate avenues of search. The theoretical framework, then, lacks articulation and integration.

CHAPTER III -

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Population. Empirical data were collected during the period 1980-81. The subject population consisted of 16 Chilean and 9 Argentinian immigrants in Edmonton (T = 25). The proportion of male and female subjects was similar (M = 12; F = 13). The group represented an age range from 24 to 49 years old ($\overline{X}$ = 34.2). The large majority of the group came from large cities. At the time interviews were done, the duration of their residence in Canada ranged from one month to five years.

Concerning their educational background, 11 immigrants have post-secondary or university studies; 12 have completed high school; and 2 have completed elementary education. Their present occupations in Edmonton were clustered in the following categories: janitorial and cleaning services employees (5); construction workers (4); housewives (4); students (3); technicians (2); professionals (2); small business entrepreneur (1); secretary (1); salesman (1); unemployed (2).

In the group, 19 subjects considered they knew little or no English at the time of arrival in Canada, and 16 had no previous experiences of living abroad.

The 25 subjects constituting the object of the present study do not represent a sample in the usual sense of the term. They were not selected by any random procedures. The subjects were contacted through immigrants' social services agencies and through informal contacts within the Argentinian and Chilean communities in Edmonton. A 'snowball effect' thus occurred until 25 persons had been contacted.

Method and Procedures

A series of personal interviews and participant observation were used as a main source of empirical information. The interviews were conducted in a relatively open and flexible way. The exploratory characteristics of this study, where many psychological aspects of the immigrants' adaptation process were not known in advance, showed the need for this type of methodology. However, a general topic-guide was used in order to achieve comprehensiveness during the interview and, in addition, formal data such as sex, age, education, and occupation were recorded in a standard way.

All interviews were carried out by this author. They were conducted in Spanish and most of them were tape recorded. In those few cases where recording was not possible, written

notes were taken. The number of interviews per subject varies from one to five and each interview lasted from one to two and a half hours. The interview setting was usually the homes of the interviewed. Provided that the interviewer shared the mother tongue and cultural background of the interviewed, there was generally a favourable disposition to participate in the study.

The author has also participated in several social gatherings (social parties, weddings, folk music festivals, etc.), and in several community events where one or more subjects of this study were involved. This participation and the home setting of the interviews led to obtaining useful insights into the behaviour of the subjects in the normal contexts of their daily lives which, in turn, facilitated the interpretation of the interview data.(*)

There was an agreement, in all cases, to keep the confidentiality of personal names, but not about what was said during the interviews. In this work, however, not only the names, but also some circumstances were

(*) As a point of interest a tendency was observed in the male population to rationalize their experiences in general and 'objective' terms, avoiding personal issues, i.e., a tendency to talk about the 'general situation' of immigrants and to construct 'theories' about political and economic issues, avoiding answering questions such as: 'How did <u>you</u> feel when arriving in Canada?.

changed or omitted if they were not essential for the illustration of a case, or if they could facilitate the identification of the subjects.

Additional information for this study was provided by social workers and other professionals related to the field of immigration, as well as material drawn from ethnic periodicals and television and radio programmes.

The Model. There is some support in the literature for a stage-based model of adaptation. Oberg (1954), Lysgaard (1955), Richardson (1957, 1967), Selltiz and Cook (1962), and Nguyen (1981) have observed the patterned existence of different periods of adaptation. However, they differ in the total number of stages, the duration and the characterization of each period.

The model developed for this study, drawn from empirical and theoretical sources, refers specifically to immigrants and refugees. It was felt that their circumstances and psychological processes differ from those of temporary sojourners (i.e., tourists, foreign students), so as to justify differences in the adaptation model. The particular socio-cultural background and

historical circumstances of Chilean and Argentinian migrants were considered as a differential factor as well as the multicultural orientation of Canada, the receptor society. At the same time elements of psycho-analytically-based theories were introduced to interpret the internal dynamics of the psychological processes of adaptation.

The model encompasses the period of the five initial years of the immigrant's residence in the host country.

Definition of terms and concepts.

Adaptation: the term is used here in a broad sense to designate the immigrants' socio-psychological processes of interaction in the host society. It is also used in a more specific sense to include the different outcomes of identity conflicts and crisis.

Assimilation: the decision taken by individuals, or forced upon them, to abandon their own cultural identity, merging with the larger society (Berry, 1974). Assimilation is considered here as one of the possible modes of the adaptive process and not as its exclusive result.

Culture shock: direct and prolonged contact with a culture different from our own usually causes feelings of elation and excitement as well as anxiety, disorientation and identity loss. The disturbances can range from mild to severe depending on personality traits, past experiences and the extent of the differences between the home country and the new society. K. Oberg (1954) was one of the first who used the term 'culture shock' to refer to an 'occupational disease' that affects anthropologists and any other people who must live and work abroad. After him, the term was widely spread in social sciences and is still largely used.

Defense mechanisms: set of psychological operations aimed at reducing or suppressing any modification which leads to endangering the individual sense of integrity and sameness (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1974).

Ethnocentrism: basically, a tendency to interpret and evaluate a foreign culture in terms of one's presumed cultural values and standards (Kottak, 1975; Spradley, 1975).

Identity: a concept widely used and somewhat difficult to define, although it has proved to be very useful in

psychological and sociological areas. Taking an intuitive approach, identity is the answer to the question: 'who am I?'. Beginning with the more basic descriptions of who one is (i.e., name and occupation), to the most elaborate and deep questioning about one's own identity, all will have a culturally and historically-shaped meaning as well as individual resonances.

Identity is defined by E. Erikson (1956) as: "a preconscious sense of psychological well-being; a feeling of being at home in one's body, of knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count" (p.74). A characterization of the main features of identity are adapted from Erikson (1975):

- A psychosocial phenomenon; a result of integrated identifications made in childhood, in juvenile models and ideals and also in the experience of exercised or workable roles; strongly grounded in the past but also dependent on the future.
- A sense of persistent self-sameness and continuity through changes in life.
- A "sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (p. 57).

- Partly, a highly conscious process, but usually its motivational aspects and conflicts abide unconscious.

- A state of being and becoming.

Identity crisis: the term, developed by E. Erikson, refers to a crucial moment in life, "a necessary turning point, when development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth recovery and further differentiation" (1968, p. 16). It can be understood as a developmental period (in adolescence and youth) or, as it is used in this study, as a result of critical circumstances (i.e., war, sudden social changes, migration).

Identity confusion: earlier called 'identiy difusion' by Erikson, it is an impairment in the developmental process of acquiring ego-identity; also regarded in the literature as a possible outcome of conflictive acculturation. The term suggests a lack of centeredness and a dissociation and dispersion of self-images.

Immigrants and temporary sojourners: it is necessary to distinguish between immigrants (voluntary or involuntary) and temporary sojourners (i.e., foreign students, migrant

workers, temporary employees, consultants, missionaries, tourists). For the second group, the duration of the stay is limited and in most cases an occupational and social position is given prior to arrival; the sojourner has open to him the possibility of returning home, or might also have the alternative of migrating to a third country. In this second group, tourists could also be included, although with some constraints. They share the main characteristics: limited time abroad, and a given social position - that of 'tourist' or foreigner. Every society has, in overt or covert ways, informal social means and/or institutions (hotels, interpreters, organized tours) for dealing with foreigners and to prevent or alleviate the occurrence of conflicts.
If it is possible to draw a line of culture shock effects, the tourist should be placed on one extreme as suffering the mildest effects, and the involuntary immigrant on the opposite extreme.

Immigrants and refugees: the distinction between immigrants and refugees has usually been related to the decision to migrate, defined as 'voluntary' in the first case, and 'involuntary' in the second. The possibilities of selecting the country of destination and the freedom

of returning home are also pointed out as differences. There are, however, many restrictions to that clear-cut distinction. It assumes for the 'voluntary' immigrant the existence of an 'open world' with free movement of people who act and decide at will. Actually, as with the refugees, assumed 'voluntary' immigrants may have taken the decision to migrate as the only alternative to overcome difficult conditions of life in their original societies. They may have also had to take the available, and contemporarily restricted, opportunities of countries offering immigration. In fact, due to selective standards, they have been 'chosen' rather than having selected themselves the country of destination. They can also have many restrictions in deciding to return to their country of origin, ranging from personal motives (i.e., the experience can be felt as a failure), to socio-economic reasons (i.e., lack of occupational opportunities, loss of social networks, fear of political persecution which may or may not materialize, etc.). In most situations, the distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration is not easily and clearly defined, and it seems to be more a matter of degree than of radical distinctions.

In this study, which is not specifically concerned with the legal definitions of both status but rather with their psychological implications, the term immigrant will generally include both, voluntary and involuntary, unless differences are specifically stated.

CHAPTER IV

A STAGE MODEL OF IMMIGRANT PSYCHOLOGICAL ADAPTATION

Presented here is a four stage model of psychological adaptation, aimed at describing and interpreting the initial five years of residency of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in Canada. The model includes the following stages:

I. Arrival and Provisional Settlement in Host Country.
   - First impressions: impact of culture shock.
   - Psychological dynamics: fear of the unknown and fear of loss; the grieving process.

II. 'Honeymoon' Stage: Optimistic View of the Future.
   - Control of fears.
   - Renewal of expectations and hopes.

III. Conflicts and Crisis of Identity.
   - The immigrant 3-5 years after arrival.
   - Identity conflicts and crisis.

IV. Resolutions: Adaptive Strategies.
   - 'Seclusion' within the co-national community.
   - Returning home.
   - Suicidal attempts.
   - Assimilation and pseudo-identity.
   - Integration: towards bi- or multiculturalism.

STAGE I.

Arrival in the host country: time of confusion, uncertainty and hopes.

On strange earth I wander
as a stranger,
while strangeness stares at me
from every eye...

(Turn of the Century Immigrant Poet)

Uno busca lleno de esperanzas
el camino que los suenos
prometieron a sus ansias.

(E.S. Discepolo: "Uno")

The sequence of events following arrival of an immigrant in Canada normally include: (a) arrival at the airport; (b) procedures at immigration and customs offices; (c) transport to the city; (d) arrival at a motel or hotel usually recommended by immigration officers; and (e) trips to manpower and immigration offices on next working day to start looking for accommodation and a job.

From the very first moment immigrants arrive at the airport their attention is caught by new incentives. Among those reported as most striking and unforgettable are: new faces, the sounds of the new language, procedures with immigration officers, and the structure of the new city which they saw on the way from the airport. They also recall a prolonged sensation of confusion, dizziness,

and the impression of 'being in another world'. Some of them are unable to remember perceptions of their arrival in any detail, 'as if it had happened in a vague dream', while others remember clearly a few details, but the whole event of arrival remains in an obscure background.

The causes of these sensations are diverse. First, the individual arriving by plane has no time to adjust to changes in time and space. Many Argentinians and Chileans had to leave their place of residence suddenly, without the opportunity of even minimal preparations for departure. Sometimes it may take years to incorporate this separation without an adequate farewell. Thus, when they arrive, they are still psychologically living in their immediate past, involved in their memories. In addition, when the amount of new and different stimuli surpass a limit which threatens personal equilibrium, the perceptive threshold is raised and the individual can 'ignore', to some extent, what is not of immediate concern to him. Yet, when added to the fatigue of travelling, this can cause a sensation of unreality, of 'being in another world'.

Emotionally, these immigrants remember an overwhelming feeling of fear - some of them almost of panic - mixed with feelings of elation and excitement about the new experience. The most common thoughts and feelings during the trip were, for some, related to the last moments spent with their

family and friends, and the sadness of the farewell. Alternatively, many questions about their new place of residency crossed their minds. Argentinian and Chilean immigrants reported having some prior information about Canada before arrival, but almost no idea about Edmonton. The images and words most commonly associated with Canada were: "snow", "pine forests", "Ottawa", "Montreal", "English and French languages", "wooden houses", "lakes", "maple trees", "Trudeau", "Mounted Police", "like the United States but without their problems", "beautiful landscapes", "progressive country". A few associated Edmonton with the idea of a growing city and the oil industry. Yet, for everyone, Edmonton was the final destination recommended by the Canadian consulate in their country of origin.

The state of confusion and estrangement can last for several days, weeks, or even be increased because of difficulties in adapting to the new environment. At the same time, some experienced feelings of excitement, hope and joy: "the possibilities were all open again in my life"; "I thought naively that the story of my life could be rewritten". Full of self-promises and hopes, some immigrants think they can erase their past history and start all over again, especially avoiding mistakes they regret having made in the past. Even those who held the most pessimistic attitude now acknowledge that in some part of themselves there was a place for hope and expectations.

- First impressions: the impact of culture shock.

Upon arrival, and for a long time afterwards, thousands of new stimuli attract the immigrant's attention: new aromas, flavors, colors, forms, sounds, noise (or absence of), gestures, attitudes. Almost everything is new, different, or strange. The individual feels driven back to a child-like state, having lost the ability to communicate in his/her own language, and recovering the acuteness of primary sensations.

There are individuals who favour one type of sensation over another. For example, there are those who 'smell' the new environment, others who 'hear' it, and still others who 'see' it:

> The first thing that impressed me most were the odors and aromas of this city. At the airport, the hotel room, the cafeteria, in shopping centres, I smelt something different. It was not unpleasant, just different. I smelt a mixture of plastic and food, something very artificial. I spent almost eighteen months smelling this city and now I cannot recover that sensation...
>
> The lack of noise and movement made me very anxious at first, as if I were arriving at a dead place...

Food. South American immigrants also experienced differences in the food. In addition to the difficulties inherent in trying to make sense of English Canadian names for provisions, they reported a sensation of tastelessness,

especially in fruits and vegetables. Others, on the other hand, are delighted with the prospect of trying different kinds of food (e.g. strawberries and cherries, which are rare or expensive in South America), and with the simplification in cooking introduced by frozen foods. After a period of residence, some immigrants are affected by health problems such as stomach upset and gastrointestinal disorders, attributed by medical doctors to a combination of alimentary diet and stress.

Space and Time. The continuity of time and space, two fundamental bases of identity, seems to be broken. The psychological impression that Edmonton - as well as some other North American cities - makes on Latin Americans can be syntesized in certain feelings of depression, anxiety, and a strong sensation of being helpless and forsaken, which are caused mainly by the structure and characteristics of the city. They emphasize as factors of disturbance the existence of wide open spaces, the extended city area, the gloomy buildings, but above all, the 'lack' of a city center. There is a remarkably common feeling of disappointment after visiting the central square downtown for the first time.

It is suggested here - following Gade (1974) - that the central plaza in Latin American cities is the psychological

focus of the community and the primordial point of orientation. Every town or city in Latin America has a central square which served in the past, and in most places still does, as the center of vital activities for the community, bringing people together in masses, in groups, or individually. The plaza is the stage for a wide variety of activities, ranging from religious ceremonies such as processions and open masses, to military parades, popular celebrations, market place, government functions, sports, massive demonstrations, and the socializing fuction of the "paseo", or promenade.(*) The plaza, in short, is an external symbol of several Latin American characteristics: (a) a preference for outdoor meeting places founded in the Mediterranean tradition (although Argentinians prefer to socialize in cafes or restaurants); (b) the high value placed on centrality, in contrast to the North American ideal of spatial separation of activities; (c) the high physical and psychological urban density where social life takes place and, therefore, the need for functional diversity in this core place (Gade, 1974).

(*) "Whatever its kind of social organization, the Latin American plaza, inviting approach and the fine art of lingering, is a noteworthy contrast with the open spaces conceived in Anglo-Saxon lands to the North. Small wonder that even when squares are present in the North American urban context, they have so few of the amiable benefits of Latin plazas, and are shunned by most either out of fear of the city center or a cultural disclination to use time in this fashion. Widespread loitering ordinances do their subtle part in discouraging use too, such as the one in Dallas, Texas, which prohibits 'walking about aimlessly, lingering, hanging around, lagging behind, the idle spending of time, delaying'." (Gades, 1974, p.20).

For South Americans, streets, corners, trees, and also the small traditional stores - such as the grocer, the butcher, the bakery, the cafe - within their residential neighbourhood, have a highly emotive value and constitute a substantial part of communal identity. With low spatial mobility, compared to North Americans, South Americans could easily be born, grow up and die, all in the same place. The developmental process of identification seems to be strongly associated with objects, things and familiar surroundings, as well as with persons and events.

Language. Most people in this group acknowledged knowing little or no English at the time of their arrival in Canada. Some of them did not immediately feel the inconveniences of being in a foreign language environment because they were sheltered by bilingual co-nationals, friends, or social workers from immigrant reception services. They were also pressed at that time by more urgent needs and anxieties. A Chilean immigrant says:

> I did not have time to worry about English then. I did not have the opportunity either. I started to work two days after my arrival. I was hired to kill chickens and you don't need to talk for that!

For others, the impact of the foreign language began from the moment of arrival, as is eloquently expressed in the following interview excerpts:

> The language, the conversation of the people seemed like a hum. To me they were only 'noises' and 'sounds'. It was like living under water. Sometimes, putting your head above water you can hear something clear and meaningful, but then you sink again. Your ears are plugged and everything becomes murmuring and buzzing once more. Yes... it is like living under water, semi-isolated and semi-deaf...
>
> It was a hard time for me. I had never before experienced this feeling of helplessness. I became aware of how much of ourselves we put in words. It was like being on stage in a pantomime, feeling dumb and odd...

- Psychological Dynamics: Fear of the Unknown, Fear of Loss.

Every change in life bears some level of stress and any significant loss may represent a disruption in the individual's sense of sameness and continuity. As it is shown by M. Fried (1963), even a change of residence within the same city could bring about a severe process of grief. It is hypothesized here that a crucial change as is migration to a different culture, mobilizes two basic fears in the individual: fear of loss and fear of the unknown (Klein, 1952, 1977).

Fear of loss is expressed by feelings of sadness, guilt and depression, and an overwhelming concern for what is left behind, leading to a grieving process. Fear of the unknown is expressed in anxiety and concern for the

difficulties to be found in the new environment, which could lead, if increased, to paranoid-like reactions, overactivity or withdrawal, or, if elaborated, to an active adaptation to reality. These fears are related to the basic conflict of an individual or group facing an important life-change: the struggle between permanency and change, which is, in turn, the core issue of identity. The desire for permanency and change acts as an ever-present pair of opposites in the psychological dynamics of human growth. The process of growth is not linear but normally proceeds by successive cognitive, emotional and physical integrations of conflictive experiences.(*)

During migration and resettlement, the social, spatial and temporal framework out of which identity grows and upon which it relies, suffers a sudden and profound disruption. In consequence, the fear of loss is not only related to a particular object of affection, but to the very basis of personal identity. At the same time the totally new environment could be perceived by the immigrant as a challenge as well as a threat. As Eintinger (in Morten, 1977) points out, a large amount of superficial

(*) Conflict is understood as the existence of opposite forces, and the dialectical struggle between them. It could be followed by a qualitatively different synthesis or resolution which includes some aspects of both poles, or by a chronification of the conflict.

stimulation can produce effects similar to lack of stimulation, both resulting in feelings of isolation and insecurity. The personality is flooded by new external stimuli and the individual may feel unable to integrate them in his previous psychological schemas and, of course, unable to anticipate the consequences of his behaviour, to foresee responses and adjust his behaviour accordingly. His sense of orientation, previously taken for granted, is lost. The stimulus, then, may acquire threatening and aggressive features. This process could be the origin of distortion of ideas with paranoid-like characteristics, one of the most commonly observed mechanisms in some newcomers (Oberg, 1954; Higginbotham , 1979). Individuals are also prevented from testing the veracity of their hypotheses due to lack of opportunities for meaningful social interaction with nationals (Higginbotham , 1979).

Fear of loss and fear of the unknown are two complementary feelings which cannot be conceived of separately. However, according to the individual's personal history and situational characteristics, one could be emphasized while the other remains dormant. Within immigrant families, it is possible to observe that one or more members of the group assume the role of 'keepers of the past', of the permanent elements of the group's identity - those who grieve and elaborate the losses. Others, instead, assume the role of 'leaders of change', or leaders of adaptation to the new. When

rigidly and unilaterally adopted, these roles may lead to a lack of communication within the family and to an increased feeling of isolation and misunderstanding.

The Grieving Process. Bereavement is, in general, a reaction to the loss of a loved one or an equivalent abstraction: the homeland, freedom, an ideal, etc. (Freud, 1915-17; Peretz). It is not a pathological but a normal state, although it imposes on the individual remarkable behavioural deviations. It is assumed that with time, environmental support and the personal resources of the bereaved, the emotional and physical symptoms will disappear (Peretz).

One of Freud's important discoveries is that the grieving process consists not only of a simple and gradual disappearance of pain caused by the loss, but it also requires an intense psychic activity (Laplanche, 1974). Reality shows that the object is lost (or dead), and demands that the bonds with it be broken. The individual, however, will experience many resistances to abandon the object of affection. The bonds can be so powerful that they could induce the individual's withdrawal from reality and hallucinatory recreation of the object. Normally, the influence of reality, through the gratifications of being alive, wins the struggle, but not before a slow and painful process (Freud, 1915-17).

The grieving process of immigrants and refugees can start just after arrival or even before leaving the old country. It can also be denied and experienced only years later as a phenomenon of delayed grief.

The nature of the loss consists of a multitude of objects - including persons, things and relationships. From the very beginning, what is most missed are family and friends, but after a period of residence in the host country, the list of objects seems to become endless (e.g. people, language, special activities - political and intellectual,- socializing, houses, work, particular foods, gestures, ways of expressing feelings, jokes, books, newspapers, music, etc.). Obviously, many of these objects do not find replacement anywhere else because some may not be available, and others may have no intrinsic value - the value of these objects being derived from their inclusion in a special context of relationships which gives them their meaning. For example, shopping in Canada may have offered a greater variety of goods than in Chile some years ago, but the social activities involved in shopping can never be equated for a Chilean here.

It is hypothesized here that a very important and painful object of bereavement in migration are parts of the self.

What is feared and resisted is the loss of a personal identity which is grounded and symbolyzed by different objects, its referential points. Estrangement from these objects may induce the individual's fears of being estranged from himself. In the case of Chileans and Argentinians, the grieving process seems to be of a dual nature. The majority of them had to leave their country due to sudden and disruptive political changes which implied a failure - at least temporarily - of the social and political projects and realities for which they were struggling. The sense of a break in historical continuity had already started in the original society.

This process involved a high level of stress, disappointment, anger, frustration, and also fears of persecution for the immigrants, their families and fellow companions. They witnessed the sudden - but systematic - destruction of what they had already built in their homeland. Many of them have suffered imprisonment and torture and almost all intimidation and harassment. Exile added a sense of rupture in the spatial dimension of identity.

The decision to become a refugee - no matter how justified it could be in terms of protecting the life and security of the individual and his family - is often conflictive (Letcher, 1977). In his overt behaviour or at the dormant level, the

individual may experience contradictory feelings of anger, guilt, cowardice, revenge and treachery. The most common symptoms of grief observed among South American immigrants are feelings of confusion and strangeness caused by the expulsion from the original society; the decrease in some ego functions; uncontrollable outbursts of emotion, especially pain and anger; insomnia or the compulsion to sleep during day and night; and, especially for Argentinians, the sensation of being betrayed and defrauded. Often there may be terrifying nightmares of persecution, or wish-fulfilling dreams of returning to the homeland as it was many years ago. These kinds of dreams can be equated to those of mourners of a loved person in whose dreams the deceased appears as younger than he or she was at the time of death (Peretz).

A particular case - although very frequent - are individuals suffering a prolonged depression, for whom the past represents a permanent source of guilt, self-reproach, or expiatory behaviour. They feel blameworthy of having abandoned the country, their family and, especially, their companions who are in prison, have disappeared, or are dead. The guilt feelings go as far as causing them to punish themselves for any kind of pleasure or enjoyment they can get in the host country:

> I really feel I should be there doing something for the people...

> Sometimes I think I should have stayed there but I was terrified, they would have killed me ... perhaps it is better to be dead ... my parents are very old, maybe they will not get the chance to know their grandchild...

The process is very similar to that of a melancholia described by Freud (1915-17). The accusation against those responsible for this situation has been transformed into self-blame. The guilt feelings are also associated with being the survivors.

A normal psychological mechanism involved in mourning is the idealization of the past, as in the exaltation of qualities of the homeland, or virtues of deceased persons (Klein, 1977). This idealization seems to favour recovery from the pain of having experienced a loss and the ensuing reorganization of the self, incorporating the 'good' aspects of the object. However, as it is based on denial, it could be used as a defense mechanism preventing the self from facing reality and from changing. Idealization of the past can also be regarded as a frustrated attempt at recovering one's own personal and group history. The attempt is clear as an exaltation of those elements which contributed to the growth of the self. It is frustrated because the present is different from and contradictory to that past for the immigrant. Moreover, the past itself is irremediably lost, and can only be recovered as <u>History</u>, that is to say,

symbolically.(*) From a cognitive point of view, the symbolic recovery implies a necessary distancing from the object, the experience of what is 'not I'. The actual lost object for the immigrant is not dead but alive - at least partially. This fact reinforces the hypothesis that what is mourned is a part of the self which grew out of the object and is attached to it. By the same token, it leads to the establishment of a typical imaginary project: the fantasy of going back home.(**) What is noteworthy as an illusory aspect of this project is that the aim is to feel 'at home' again without acknowledging inner and outer changes. As in the biblical metaphor of the "paradise lost", space and time are fixed and not subject to historical transformation. The images of the home city, friends, etc., are remembered as if they were in a film which stopped at the moment of the immigrant's departure, and which will magically start running its course when they go back. In the meantime, integration to the new society is also prevented

(*) My acknowledgement to Lic. R. Courel who, in personal communication, pointed this out. As he puts it: "For the past to be recovered as History, it is necessary to tolerate the deep grief involved in the recognition of having lost it." (R. Courel, personal communication, 1980. Trans. mine).

(**) The characterization of the 'fantasy' of return does not mean to disregard the legitimate and real plans for going back home. The fantasy is analyzed here as a defensive mechanism, a resistance against adaptation and change and also as an ever-present constituent part of any plan to return.

because it means the investment of affection, engagement and commitment to reality. This unconsciously implies the danger of a new loss, such as had happened before. If the individual begins to interact with reality, to adapt, the fantasy will indicate that 'time is running'. He/she will be included in the flow of time (maturing), and will have to admit that the situation and the people 'over there' are changing, and that he/she could also be forgotten.

There is another way of attempting to deal with loss and grief - seemingly the opposite of idealizing the past, that is, a total rejection of the home culture. Everything that comes from there is found to be inferior and contemptible. Frequent expressions of anger and, especially, a highly intolerant attitude in judging the behaviour of co-nationals are observed. The degree of adaptation of these immigrants to the host country is cited as 'an example' for other immigrants and implies an attitude of 'triumph' over the conflicts generated in the original society.

Both mechanisms - idealization and rejection - are based on denial of important parts of internal and external

reality. Both are used to some extent in every normal process of grief. However, when there is an exclusive and rigid use of either one, it is possible to foresee an inadequate resolution of bereavement and the impoverishment of emotional life.

The 'normal' resolution of a mourning process implies that it is possible to tolerate feelings of guilt toward the lost object and toward oneself which are experienced in every separation. More than guilty, the individual feels responsible for (able to give a response, to take care of) his feelings and for the total situation. The predominant feeling may be sadness (tristeza), but the self is not dominated by it. On the contrary, it has a renewed desire to live and to overcome difficulties. There is also a deepening of the understanding of human experience.

STAGE II.

'Honeymoon' Period.(*)

> Sabe que la lucha es cruel y es mucha
> pero lucha y se desangra for la fe
> que lo empecina...
>
> (E.S. Discepolo: "Uno")

A positive evaluation of the new environment and of the migration process itself is predominant in this stage. Its duration can be very short, but its effects can last longer. Individuals going through this stage are usually people who have spent some time in the host country (from six months to a year or more). This observation shows a crucial difference between the pattern of behaviour of these immigrants and the elation-depression pattern observed in foreign students and particular immigrants such as the British in Australia (Sewell & Davidson, 1961; Richardson, 1967).

For most Chileans and Argentinians, the stage of arrival brings about feelings of fear, confusion, anxiety or depression. It is only when they can momentarily control

(*) The name of this stage (i.e. 'honeymoon') is used by K. Oberg (1954) to designate the first stage of his model.

these feelings that they can go through the honeymoon stage. It is interesting to note that some of the typical attitudes of this stage are born out of an authentic process of psychological elaboration and interaction with reality, while others are compulsory mechanisms - such as denial of past and present difficulties - aimed at avoiding feelings of depression and finding reassurance for the decision to migrate.

An almost mandatory question is posed here: how do immigrants pass from culture shock to the honeymoon stage? As in every passage from one stage to another, it is found that the roots of the honeymoon are present in the preceding stage and before, and that its effects will be felt in the next stage. Immigrants bring hopes with them and expect to fulfill what they felt was the reason for migration, the basic feeling of inadequacy in the original society. To some extent, this will determine the goals and behaviour of individuals in the new country (Einsenstadt, 1954).

After some months of residence, immigrants usually find themselves in a relatively stable situation, the basic problems of resettlement being at least temporarily solved - they have a place to live, most likely some kind

of a job, they start to get used to the basics of communication, children are most likely placed in a school, and they are able to manage in the city. The fear of the unknown starts to decrease as the anxiety producing new experiences become more familiar and they begin to enjoy the mastering of new skills. The initial perception of an alluvium of stimuli can now be received and acted upon in a more discriminative way. The stimulus also becomes more significant and a new sense of orientation is taking place. They are now in better conditions to start knowing and enjoying some aspects of the new society.

For those who had economical expectations, the fact of finding a job - even if not a very good one - could be very rewarding as a start. The possibilities of acquisition of goods (cars, stereos, different foods, etc.), and the use of some services (hospitals, schools, social welfare, etc.), are also very attractive. For others the experience of being secure and out of the menace of persecution, prison, or other not less stressful experiences, is enough to give them the sensation of well being. There are also a few who enjoy the new experience of the cold Canadian winter.

Even superficial contacts with Canadians could represent at this stage the promise of fulfillment of a sense of belonging in the future. More immediate needs for support

and socializing are relatively well accomplished by the community of co-nationals. This situation tends to give immigrants at this stage a general appearance of satisfaction and it seems that the adaptation process is on its way. In its extreme form, the manifestations of this stage show signs of a seemingly complete assimilation. Very prematurely and inadequately - in the co-national's view - they adopt the colloquial language, manners and dominant values of the host society, while despising and forgetting the mother tongue and home culture. They incorporate what Richardson (1967) called "optional acculturation" - non-mandatory aspects of expressive behaviour which may generate rejection from parts of both groups, nationals and, especially, co-nationals. They seem to be more Canadian than Canadians themselves.

Psychologically it is possible to observe a whole range of behaviours and attitudes, some of which apparently differ drastically from the first stage:

- a relative control of fears;
- a relative reorganization of temporal and spatial schemas;
- a renewal of expectations and hopes, and an optimistic view of the future;
- learning and mastering new skills;

- rejuvenation: a feeling that 'I can start my life again', or simply discovering hidden facets of the personality (the possibility of becoming more independent, making new friends, learning a new language, etc.). This can be assimilated into Erickson's concept of adolescence as a "second chance" in life.

The following defense mechanisms are also observed:

- Denial: of grief and of negative or precarious aspects of the individual's integration in the new society. This can be understood within the concept of avoidance of dissonance between personal expectations and reality - as if the perception of reality should fit the individual's desires and compensate him/her for the great effort invested in the decision and actual migratory movement.

- Omnipotency: small accomplishments encourage the individual and drive him to make plans which are out of proportion, or to commit himself to activities without taking into account the realities of inner and outer constraints (e.g. working overtime to the point of exhaustion in order to achieve social mobility).

. Idealization: in this case, a complementary mechanism of denial.

Only a few South American immigrants feel at this stage an almost complete 'honeymoon' with the host country - usually those who had economical motivation for migration and are experiencing upward social mobility in relation to their status in the home country, or can foresee it in the near future. For those whose motivations for migration were negative or those who were forced to flee from their original country, the honeymoon period is limited to the appreciation of some aspects of the new society: educational opportunities for their children, etc., and to some periods of personal elation and excitement due to personal accomplishments. This stage, although usually brief as such, is important for its consequences.

STAGE III.

Conflicts and Crisis of Identity.

Si yo tuviera el corazon
el corazon que di
si yo pudiera como ayer
querer sin presentir...

(E.S. Discepolo: "Uno")

After a period of residence that goes from three to five years, the Latin American immigrant family has passed through many experiences. The individual has tried a variety of jobs, usually related to janitorial services, construction work, or in the meat and chicken markets. In a few cases they work as technicians, social workers, own a small business, or are students in secondary and post-secondary educational institutions.

At work they have experienced a feeling of helplessness, both from not being able to communicate in English, and from not knowing the labour regulations, and they have also experienced varied levels of discrimination. Some of them have suffered the experience of having to perform a kind of work which is totally different - and harder - than what they were used to (e.g. a university professor of philosophy working for three years as a construction carpenter, a school

principal in his mid-fifties employed as a school janitor). This experience is joined for them with the experience of downward social mobility.

Presently, these immigrants are probably in a better position than they were upon arrival (most of them own a car, and some are paying for a house), but they do not forget and still resent those initial years. By now they also have the certainty that their upward social mobility has reached a peak which will be very difficult, if not impossible, to surpass. In many cases the family group is experiencing difficulties ranging from disagreements with the children, to the common case of separation or divorce between the couple. Communication between immigrant parents and their children is made more difficult by a number of factors: Chilean and Argentinian families use Spanish as the language of communication at home and with co-nationals. English is used in formal situations (institutions, outside persons, etc.). This is what Hernandez Walker (1979), among others, called "home segregation" of mother tongue, and it also represents the alienation of the home from the school and the larger society.

Initially the parents will encourage the children to speak English so as to integrate into the Canadian society.

After a time, however, they will face the fact that the communication process in the family begins to weaken and in some cases breaks down. For the young members of the family, Spanish loses its appeal - it becomes poorly spoken and is only a restricted form of communication. The parents feel Canadian society has isolated their children from them. Differences in value patterns become more vividly exposed, such as:

- Values related to sexuality, moral behaviour;
- The role of the family and the authority of parents and elders;
- The employment of children and economic independence vs. educational aspirations of parents.

As a result of all this, feelings of alienation from this new society appear once again for the parents: their fear of loss becomes more real, and they strongly miss the social network (family - especially grandparents -, friends, neighbours) which in the original society played an important role in moral support and as a reference group on which to rely. The children, on the other hand, are trapped between two forces: school and society on one side and the home on the other, possibly feeling inadequate in both, or taking one side against the other. In any case, a conflictive situation is likely to occur.

The home identity may differ widely from the school identity, and these lack a fluent interaction and communication. This situation poses for the children inhabiting both worlds at least a problem of inconsistent frameworks of reference for behaviour and orientation. Feelings of inferiority, shame and guilt, and above all, problems of identity confusion may appear.

Socially, most families rely on their co-national community, after some failures in establishing intimate relationships with nationals. Some of them, however, maintain many informal contacts with Canadians and members of other immigrant groups. Argentinian families interviewed, although reliant on Spanish-speaking people for their most intimate friendships, showed a strong tendency to interact with Canadians and also with other non Spanish-speaking immigrants.(*)

(*) This tendency could be due - among other factors - to differences in number and organization of Chileans and Argentinians. The Chilean community has a noticeable number of members and they are organized in cultural, social and political groups. The number of Argentinians is small and they do not have any kind of formal organization. They also show a residential dispersion throughout the city quite different from the Chilean neighbourhood, which probably influences the Argentinian tendency to interact with members of the host country.

At this stage, several personal and psycho-social conflicts are reported in counselling sessions and interviews. Only those cases specifically related to the problematic of immigrant identity will be considered here. Identity issues are, inthe author's opinion, at the core of many other psychological problems in the immigrant's life. The other problems seem to be overdetermined(*) by the basic identity conflicts posed by migration.

Immigrants seeking counselling reported a number of symptoms. There is a rupture in the general sense of life: the old ties have been lost and the new ones are sensed as more formal than real. They do not provide feedback and the relationships are not nourishing. This is usually accompanied by an ambivalent relation to, and a weak contact with, the new society. Periods of almost total immersion in Canadian life with feelings of being accepted and integrated, strong personal initiative and strengths, alternate with periods of

(*) The concept of overdetermination posed by Althuser (1973) is used here to indicate not a direct and mechanical determination but a complex articulation of instances. In this case, uprooting and the condition of resettlement being among the structural instances which fix the limits of autonomy and functions of other instances.

withdrawal - an imaginary 'going back home' where one wishes only to speak Spanish and remember the past. Difficulties in concentration in any kind of activity emerge - including thinking and speaking in the new language, even though English may have already been mastered to some extent. The passage from one 'world' to another, from the past to the present, from Spanish to English, from inner to outer reality, is found to be straining and energy-consuming. Consequently, there is also a sensation of being at the limits of something. Dramatically, then, the questions 'who am I?', 'where do I belong?' arise.

(*) Erick Erickson (1968) first called "identity diffusion" and later "identity confusion" a similar configuration of symptoms that may occur in late adolescence and in conflictive acculturation (see definition of terms and concepts).

Crisis of identity.

Uno va arrastrandose entre espinas
y en su afán de dar su amor
uno se destroza hasta entender
que uno se ha queda'o sin corazón...

(E.S. Discepolo: "Uno")

Decí por Dios qué me has da'o
que estoy tan cambia'o
no sé más quién soy...

(Argentinian tango)

There is a difference - not always clearly established - between conflict and crisis in psychological terms. Identity conflict is a process common to all immigrants which gives more or less emphasis to various aspects according to individual and contextual differences. It starts with the first effects of culture shock and could last for years, but in this case the ego is able to exercise its functions (observing, thinking, making decisions and acting accordingly). It is a state of relative stability similar to that of chronic illness.

At the crisis level, however, the ego is temporarily unable to fuction properly. Its state of confusion and paralysis is a consequence of reiterative failures in

attempting to restructure the inner and outer world: (a) on the one hand, the individual's relationships with nationals, if any, are superficial and, on the other hand, the illusion of forming a ghetto with co-nationals probably also fails - he/she feels like a piece of a puzzle which does not fit anywhere; (b) in assessing their stay in the host country, individuals may feel that they have not fulfilled - or only minimally - their original aims and hopes; (c) the possibilities of going back home, especially for political refugees, are more distant each day, or that does not seem to be the 'solution' to their problems any longer; (d) finally, the individual feels that his/her 'name', a strong anchorage of identity, and actions are meaningless to others. Under these circumstances, the person feels that he/she has been forgotten in the original society, and in the new one he/she feels purposeless, except perhaps for the utilization of his/her labour force.

E. Erickson started using the term "identity crisis" when working with veterans during the Second World War. Despite their exposure to battle conditions, they were not suffering from nervous breakdowns nor were they pretending to be ill, but they had lost "a sense of

personal sameness and historical continuity" (Erickson, 1968, pp.16-17). Erickson, who was trained in psychoanalysis, called it "loss of ego identity". Since then, identity crisis has been used in a clinical and developmental sense as a normal stage typical of adolescence and youth. It refers to a crucial moment of growth, "a necessary turning point when development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth recovery and further differentiation" (Erickson, 1968, p. 16). The term was also widened to designate identity crisis in individuals, groups, generations, and even nations. Currently, as Erickson suggests, the term "crisis" has been deprived of its fatal and catastrophic connotations which, in his opinion, makes it more understandable and manageable in different contexts. However, he seems to deplore that sometimes the word "crisis" is used in a too asceptic manner, having lost all the sinister connotations which also imply the more vital ones.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to differentiate between identity crisis attributed to adolescents in modern society, and identity crisis as a result of critical circumstances such as war, sudden

social changes, migration, etc. For the former, society provides institutionalized resources and devices on which the individual can rely to overcome developmental crisis (e.g. social moratorium, vocational guidance, etc.). In the second case, the crisis appears because the individual has lost the referential framework he/she had before and the new one has become meaningless. It faces the individual with a lack of social and institutional support, which increases his ambiguity and helplessness.

Many illusory aspects of the individual's previous attachment to the original society and to the new society, established during the honeymoon period, start now to be seen with some distance - the first step toward a probable emergence of critical consciousness. This crisis announces the breakdown of the illusion of integration and totalization grounded in a pseudo-identity and based on denial, idealization and rationalization of conflicts.

In terms of Kovacks and Cropley (1975) this can be characterized as a "crisis of alienation" - alienation from both the old and the new culture. The subjective situation is characterized by a sense of powerlessness (the foresight that actions will not produce the expected

results), meaninglessness (the expectancy of not grasping the meaning of situations in which one is involved), and self-estrangement. This situation is commonly regarded in the literature as a result of a "lack of integration" to the context, as a situation of marginality. The solution would be then to integrate this individual into the society from which he/she is alienated.

It is argued here that a crisis of identity is only possible when the individual has been incorporated to some extent into the new society (re-socialized). Otherwise, the conflicts and crisis may not exist. The conflict then is not due to a lack of integration, but to the mode in which this integration has taken place. The mode of integration is conditioned for structural and personal factors over some of which the individual has no control:

- Explicit and implicit modes and limits placed by the receptor society for cultural and structural assimilation of immigrants (Porter, 1980; Elliot, 1971; Richmond, 1978).

- Degree of acceptance of foreigners, racism and discrimination in the host society (Richmond, 1978).

- Degree of compatibility and flexibility of the immigrant's culturally-shaped world interpretation (cultural-personal myths); the code to be followed, the values to be pursued, with what groups of nationals the immigrant interacts.

- Personal history and individual differences.

The effects of structural factors are shared either by other immigrants or by nationals who also live and work under the limits posed by the socio-economic system. However, at this point the individual may not experience a sense of solidarity with and belonging to a group. Only gradually, he/she may gain consciousness and be identified with, and therefore identified by, a social group which shares his/her interests and difficulties. As will be elaborated later, this could be one possible way out of the critical situation. As Kovacks and Cropley (1975) suggest, a sense of belonging or solidarity with a group and the sense of relative control of one's own life tends to reduce alienation. This is particularly imporant for the more socially-oriented South American immigrants.

As in every profound crisis, there are some actual risks and subjective fears of madness and of death, but there is also the possibility of growth. This period is a kind of existential vacuum difficult to tolerate, but it could be a fertile and not a sterile void.

STAGE IV.

Resolutions: Adaptive Strategies

What should they know of England
who only England know?

(Kipling)

Tengo ahora que admitir que este exilio en West Berlin me ha cambiado. He tenido que amarrarme mas fuerte los nudos en la garganta, ahorrarme bajo el ala del sombrero una lágrima asomada (según Carlos Gardel); desconfiar de la energía que engendra esperanzas y delirios y someter mi fantasía a las pruebas del sentido común, la probabilidad o la discreción. He aprendido a hacer explicable y convencible lo que hasta para mi sigue siendo un misterio...

(A. Skarmeta, Araucaria, 9, 1980, p.141)

Para el emigrante la Tierra es la casa del hombre. Todo el que aqui viva ha de ser miembro de la misma familia humana...

(Aurora C. de Schmidt, "Algunas voces en el debate publico sobre politica migratoria en los Estados Unidos, 1980)

Restaurado en mi fe y en tu promesa
de otro sol, otro Avila, otro día
mi nutricia Caracas, te bendigo...

(G. Cirigliano, de "Soneto a Caracas I")

The purpose of this section is to present the psychosocial adaptive strategies observed in the subject population. With some restrictions, they can be seen as provisional outcomes

of the adaptive process.(*) For the sake of clarity and organization, strategies presented here are related to the three movements posed by Berry (1980) as three basic modes of adaptation: moving with or towards the larger society (adjustment); moving against it (reaction), and moving away from it (withdrawal). The advantage of this formulation is to recognize the diversity of possible adaptive modes and not considering assimilation or absorption as the only viable alternative.

It is observed in the subject population of this study that the first and third movements largely predominate and only these will be considered here. There are no examples within the Argentinian and Chilean communities in Edmonton of rejection groups directed against the larger society, as could be the typical example of Black Power movements in North America. Although individually there are some rejection responses, these have no group support or channels of expression. They follow, then, some of the patterns that will be described below.

(*) The 'provisional' character referring to the terms 'outcomes' and 'resolution' has to be emphasized because this study covers only five years of a process that could last a life-time and even generations.

The main strategies in this study(*) which can be nominated as modalities of the withdrawal movement are: (a) seclusion within the co-national community; (b) returning home (or to some other Spanish-speaking country); (c) suicidal attempts (extreme form of withdrawal). The strategies that can be included in the movement toward the larger society are: (d) assimilation and ensuing pseudo-identity; and (e) integration (towards bi- or multiculturalism).

Movements in relation to larger society	Psycho-social Strategies
Withdrawal	(a) seclusion within co-national community (b) returning home (c) suicidal attempts
Towards or With	(d) assimilation (e) integration

Before analysing these modalities, it is important to note that there are two points of view from which adaptive

(*) Psychosocial strategies are considered here as partially conscious and voluntary and partially unconscious. People usually do what they can, what is possible for them, given external and internal constraints, not necessarily what they want.

outcomes can be seen: from the receptor society and from the immigrant's perspective. These viewpoints can differ greatly when conflicts are involved. According to the point of view, different meanings can be attributed to the same movement (e.g. what could be seen by the larger society as voluntary self-segregation of an immigrant group may be regarded by the latter as a non-voluntary response to discrimination).

(a) Living within the limits of the co-national community. Usually there are two reasons for these individuals to rely almost completely on members of the co-national community, preventing contacts with nationals. During the first period of residence the motives are: the immigrant's inexperience, lack of resources for interaction (language, skills), and the threat presented by the unknown society. This situation can last several months, years, of it may last forever in some individuals.(*)

(*) A typical example of this situation could be a Chilean refugee who came to Canada with his family (his wife and five children). They did not have any knowledge of English prior to arrival. His occupation was specialized worker in the textile industry. He was received by Chilean friends in Edmonton, who helped them in the search for a job, housing, and school for the children. Since then he has been working as a construction worker and she as a housewife and in occasional janitorial services. None of them had the chance to learn English except for a few words they have learned at work. They rely exclusively on Chilean people who operate as interpreters for dealing with banks, social services, schools, etc., and also providing personal support and opportunities for leisure activities.

The second form of living in a 'ghetto' is more mental and emotional than actualized in concrete behaviour. There are immigrants who could live, work and behave 'as if' they were assimilated; they have acquired two sets of performances according to the community they are dealing with. However, their goals and the meaning of their actions are given neither by the nationals nor by the co-national community in the host country, but by their past in their original society.

(b) Returning home or to some other Spanish-speaking country. This decision could be taken due to two situations, one being a perceived failure after several attempts to integrate into Canadian life, and the other being a more deliberate choice after a certain level of integration has taken place. The first situation usually involves immigrants who could not cope with the challenges and strains of culture shock and adaptation at the same time that the grieving process is heightened, thus precipitating the decision. The second situation generally involves highly educated people who have achieved a level of integration into the host society (usually their cultural integration is higher than their structural integration), and they are pulled back home or to some

other Spanish-speaking country by occupational opportunities together with expectations of becoming involved in what, for them, are meaningful social projects, active social participation, and prestige. Both reactions could, in addition, be interpreted as an attempt to recuperate a social and historical continuity which they feel has been lost.

(c) Suicidal attempts. Descriptions of the specific situations and psychological dynamics of suicidal individuals are not yet clear in the literature. During this study I came into contact with two families containing suicidal individuals, one of whom had actually committed suicide, and the other had been severely injured. According to the information gathered, both individuals were heads of the family and they were not facing particular economical hardships at that moment, although both held low status jobs. Seemingly, neither one had critical family or health problems. However, important common characteristics between the two were: a high level of aspirations regarding social mobility, high identification with the Canadian way of life, and a relative isolation from the co-national communities. Neither one could return to their home country for political-economic reasons and both had had some

negative experiences with resettlement in other countries. One of them seemed, at that moment, to have overcome a transitory depressive state originating in the conviction that the possibilities of a better job for himself were far away. It is possible to hypothesize that these individuals were undergoing a stressful situation for which they could foresee no solution. However, this type of socio-psychological hypothesis still leaves obscure the specific intrapsychic processes which, in conjunction with the external situation, would precipitate such a decision of extreme withdrawal.

(d) Assimilation and pseudo-identity. There are immigrants who adjust to the norms, values and modalities of the receptor society, assuming them from a non-critical perspective. They relinquish, by means of denial or rejection, their former cultural identity. There is no elaboration either of past conflicts and personal history, or their role in the present situation, which they assume as given and try by any means to conform to. Their situation is, then, unstable because they cannot count on the support of the co-national community with which they feel no identification. Moreover, they are totally dependent on the acceptance and reassurance of nationals for their 'newly' acquired identity.

From the point of view of some sectors of the receptor society, this strategy could be seen as a successful means of adaptation. However, what is perceived by some nationals and co-nationals is a permanent pose and lack of authenticity in the individual, no matter how hard he may try to please others. The denomination of 'pseudo-identity' rather than 'new identity' is considered appropriate because it is assumed here that changes in identity are only possible on the basis of the transformation of basic psychological structures and not on their suppression or denial.

(e) Integration: towards bi- or multiculturalism. The term 'integration' covers a range of situations which go from positive relations with the host community as well as retention of personal-cultural identity, to the configuration of a set of characteristics regarded as peculiar of a multicultural identity. As Adler (1974) points out:

> Multicultural man is the person who is intellectually and emotionally committed to the fundamental unity of all human beings while at the same time he recognizes, legitimizes, accepts, and appreciates the fundamental differences that lie between people of different cultures. This kind of man cannot be defined by the languages he speaks, the countries he has visited, or the number of international contacts he has made. Nor is he defined by his profession, his place of residence, or his cognitive sophistication. Instead, multicultural man is recognized by the configuration of his outlooks and world view, by the way he incorporates the universe as a dynamically moving process, by the way he reflects the interconnectedness of life in his thoughts and his actions, and by the way he remains open to the imminence of experience. (p. 24).

Many Chileans and Argentinians regard immigration and adaptation as a learning experience. The learning process is especially emphasized in the following aspects:

- Englargement of temporal-spatial schema so as to include new relationships of belonging. As an Argentinian immigrant says: "La patria se agrandó" (My homeland became broader).

- The process of cognitive and emotional distancing from the original society leads to insights and self-insights about own biases and assumptions as well as the recognition of the cultural relativism of values and behaviour. In Keesing's terms: "they learn something about the prescription of their own cultural glasses" (1971), or as a Chilean immigrant puts it:

> We were so provincial and naive! We grew up as if Santiago or Buenos Aires were the center of the world. Exile has taught me a lesson in humility and respect for others.

This process is instrumental both in the acquisition of new information and appreciation of a different culture and, in all likelihood, in changing the structure of the immigrant's own cultural world. Integration is not a change of citizenship or a switch from one ethnocentric view to another, it is the recuperation of historical continuity in a broader perspective.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The general purpose of this study was to describe and interpret different stages in the psychological adaptation process of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in Canada. Concerning a theoretical framework for the study of psycho-social processes of adaptation, some limitations were found in the review of related literature:

(1) There were no specific studies on Latin American immigrants in Canada.

(2) Some of the classical studies on immigration (e.g. Einsenstadt, 1954), referred to the immigrant's adaptation process as a process of assimilation or absorption into the host society. For the purposes of this study, this was considered a limited approach which does not do justice on the one hand to the variety of adaptive modes that immigrants display, and on the other hand to a receptor society such as Canada with an official policy of multiculturalism.

(3) Although studies on acculturation claimed a psychological orientation, little was explored in terms of intrapsychic processes.

Some aspects of the Freudian and neo-Freudian school of thought as well as the recent tradition of socio-psychoanalytic studies on Latin American immigrants and the contributions of J. Berry on modes of adaptation served as general reference. The other main source of information came from empirical data gathered with participant observation methods and interview techniques.

A four stage model of adaptation was constructed in order to give account of some psychosocial processes of Chilean and Argentinian immigrants in their five initial years of residency in Canada. The model includes the following stages:

(a) Arrival in the host country.
(b) 'Honeymoon' period.
(c) Conflicts and eventual crisis of identity.
(d) Resolutions: adaptive strategies.

Describing each of the four stages there are, roughly, three lines of argument: first is the general description of common situations that immigrants go through, second is the psychological dynamics and processes they experience, and third the interpretation of these phenomena.

The first stage has been described as a time of confusion, uncertainty and hopes. Mixed feelings of fear and panic

as well as excitement seem to precede the arrival into Canada. The first impressions are governed by the impact of culture shock which affects basic reference points of identity. At this stage, as in any sudden and significant change, two basic fears are mobilized: fear of loss and fear of the unknown. Fear of loss is expressed by feelings of sadness, guilt and depression, and the overwhelming concern for what is left behind, leading to a grieving process. Fear of the unknown is expressed in anxiety and concern for the difficulties to be found in the new environment which could lead, if increased, to paranoid-like reactions, overactivity or withdrawal or, if elaborated, to an active adaptation to reality. These fears are related to the basic conflict of a person or group facing an important life change: the struggle beteen permanency and change, which is, in turn, the core issue of identity.

The 'honeymoon' stage is characterized by a positive evaluation of the new environment, a renewal of expectations and hopes, and an optimistic view of the future. The predominant psychological mechanisms and dynamics observed in this stage are described.

The third stage describes several conflicts posed by immigration. From an analytical point of view, it can be

said that conflicts are expressed in the areas of language, family relationships, work, cultural values, cognitive and affective traits, although psychologically they appear interwoven in an existential configuration. Facing the loss of what constituted the grounds for their personal identity, its 'taken-for-granted' referential points, and having the experience of coping with the challenges of the new society, the immigrant may feel like swimming the ocean half way across, where neither a return is possible nor the lights on the other shore are visible as they were before. In this crisis of identity, a turning point in the process of adaptation and personal growth, the questions 'who am I?', 'where do I belong?' are dramatically raised.

It is hypothesized here that this crisis of identity is due not to a lack of integration to the context but to the mode in which that integration has taken place. In turn, the mode of integration is conditioned for structural and personal factors over some of which the immigrant has no control.

Five types of adaptive strategies were observed in the subject population as provisional outcomes of conflicts and crisis. They are presented in relation to the framework posed by Berry (1980) as basic modes of adaptation:

- Moving away from the larger society:
  (a) 'Seclusion" within the co-national community.
  (b) Returning home.
  (c) Suicidal attempts.

- Moving toward or with the larger society:
  (d) Assimilation and pseudo-identity.
  (e) Integration: toward bi- or multiculturalism.

Concluding Remarks

The stage model is appropriate to describe the major elements found empirically and contains many features to be located in real cases, and yet it gives an idea of temporal sequence and continuity. In actual cases, although this sequence is perceptible and length of period can be roughly estimated, there are present elements of discontinuity as well. What is observed is that the stages tend to appear in many situations separated by a short span of time or they can overlap each other. It is clear that the stage model presented here is not appropriate for such behaviour, and also that any mechanical application should be avoided. The real phenomena is far more complex than the simple stage model might suggest.

The model is, however, useful for an analytical description and brings about the possibility of clearly emphasizing significant elements in such a way that interpretation is therefore facilitated. In this sense, the stages are better regarded as special configurations of anxieties and coping strategies which may appear during the initial phase of the adaptive process in a loose temporal sequence. The concept, then, comes closer to the idea of "position" assertion in M. Klein (1952).

Subsequent research efforts may include the consideration of sociological and demographic variables (sex, age, education, social class) and its differential effects on the psychological process of adaptation.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

ABOU, S. Relations interethniques et problemes d'acculturation. Quebec: Centre International de Recherches sur le Bilinguisme, Public. B-56, 1976.

ADLER, P. Beyond cultural identity: reflections on cultural and multicultural man. In: Brislin, R. (ed.) Topics in Culture Learning, Vol. 2, 1974.

ALEXANDER, A., WORKNEH, F., KLEIN, M., MILLER, M. Psychotherapy and the Foreign Student. In: Pedersen, P. et al (eds.) Counselling Across Cultures, Honolulu: Univ. Press of Hawaii, 1976.

ALEXANDER, T. Those amazing Cubans emigres. In: Dinnerstein, L., Jaher, F. The Aliens. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970.

ALLPORT, G. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954.

ALTHUSSER, L. Ideología y Aparatos Ideológicos del Estado. In: Estudios Interdisciplinarios, Cordoba, Ano I, No. 1, 1973.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. Prueba de Tortura. London: Twentieth Century Press, 1977.

ARAUCARIA DE CHILE, Madrid: Ediciones Michay, series 1980.

BAR YOSEF, R. Desocialization and resocialization: the adjustment process of immigrants. In: International Migration Review, 27-43, Summer, 1968.

BEALS, R. Social stratification in Latin America. In: Heat, D., Adams, R. (eds.) Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America. New York: Random House, 1965.

BERMAN, S. Atencion médico-psicológica en el exilio. Conferencia Internacional sobre Exilio y Solidaridad en la América Latina de los Años 70. Venezuela, Octubre, 1979.

BERRY, J. Psychological aspects of cultural pluralism: unity and identity reconsidered. In: Topics in Culture Learning, 2, 17-22, 1974.

BERRY, J. Introduction. In: Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 8, 131-133, 1977.

BERRY, J. Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In: Padilla, A. (ed.) Acculturation: Theory, Models and New Findings. Colorado: Westview Press, 1980.

BERRY, J. The sociogenesis of social sciences. In: Bain, B. (ed.) The Sociogenesis of Language and Human Conduct. New York: Plenum, in press.

BERRY, J., KALIN, R., TAYLOR, D. Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada. Ottawa: Gov. of Canada, 1977.

BLEGER, J. Psicologia de la Alienación. In: Cuadernos de Psicologia Concreta, Ano 2, 4, Buenos Aires, 1972.

BOCK, P. (ed.) Culture shock: a reader in modern cultural anthropology. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1970.

BOHOSLAVSKY, R. (ed.) Lo vocacional, teoría, técnica e ideología. Buenos Aires, Edit. Búsqueda, 1975.

BORRIE, W. The cultural integration of immigrants. Proceedings of the UNESCO conference held in Havana, April, 1956, Paris: 1959.

BOSATTA, J. Mental health services for Latin American Refugees in Sweden. Manuscript, 1978.

BOWEN, D. The land and people of Chile. New York: Lippincott Co., 1976.

CALVARUSO, C. Integrazione e personalita. In: Studi Emigrazione, Anno 11, 33, 87-116, 1974.

CHANCE, N. Acculturation, self-identification and personality adjustment. In: American Anthropologist, 67, 372-393, 1965.

CHIUCINI, G. Influenza delle nouve forme urbane sulla psicologia dell' emigrante. In: Studi Emigrazione, Anno 11, 135-146, 1974.

COLE, M., BRUNNER, J. Cultural differences and inferences about psychological processes. In: American Psychologist, 26, 867-876, 1971.

DELGUEIL, R., RODRIGUEZ, G. Representation de l'exil: adolescents chiliens. In: Migrant Formation, 29-30, 1978.

DELGUEIL, R., VASQUEZ, A. Reflexiones sobre el exilio y sus repercusiones psicologicas. In: Semana Universitaria Latinoamericana, Universidad de Barcelona, Octubre, 1978.

DORFMAN, A. Los trabajos y los días en el exilio. In: Plural, Vol. VIII-IX, 104, 1980.

DUARTE, A., SEGUEL, J. El problema psíquico y social del refugiado político latinoamericano en Dinamarca. Copenhagen: Københavns Universitet, 1977.

EISENSTADT, S. The absorption of immigrants. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1954.

EISENSTADT, S. Communication at the Havana conference on immigration. In: Borrie, W. (ed.) The cultural integration of immigrants. Paris: UNESCO, 1959.

ELLIOT, J. Minority groups: a Canadian perspective. In: Elliot, J. (ed.) Minority Canadians 2. Scarborough: Prentice Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1971.

ERIKSON, E. The problem of ego identity. In: Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, Vol. 4, 56-121, 1956.

ERIKSON, E. Childhood and society. New York: W.W. Norton, 1963.

ERIKSON, E. Identity, youth and crisis. New York: W.W. Norton, 1968.

ERIKSON, E. Life history and the historical moment. New York: W.W. Norton, 1975.

FALLOWS, M. The Mexican-American laborers: a different drummer? In: Dinnerstein, L., Jaher, F. (eds.) The Aliens. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970.

FANTINO, A. Conflicto y crisis de identidad en inmigrantes y refugiados Latinoamericanos. In: Proceedings V Coloquio Internacional, Fac. Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, 1980. Also in: Política y Ciencias Sociales, UNAM, Año 1, 2, July, 1980.

FREUD, S. Introducción al narcisismo (1914); Duelo y melancolía (1915); Consideraciones sobre la guerra y la muerte (1915); Lo perecedero (1915); Lo siniestro (1919); Inhibición, síntoma y angustia (1925); El porqué de la guerra (1932). In: Obras Completas, Madrid: Bib. Nueva, 3 ed.

FRIED, M. Grieving for a lost home. In: Duhl, L. (ed.) The urban condition. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.

GADE, D. The Latin American central plaza as a functional space. In: Tata, R. (ed.) Latin America, search for geographic explanations. Florida: C.L.A.G. Publications, 1974.

GANUZA, E. Exilados Latinoamericanos en Suecia: infierno o paraíso? Conferencia Internacional sobre Exilio y Solidaridad en la América Latina. Venezuela, Octubre, 1979.

GERMANI, G. Asimilación de inmigrantes en el medio urbano: notas metodológicas. In: Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología, Vol. I, 2, 1965.

GORDON, M. Assimilation in America: theory and reality. In: Barron, M. Minorities in a changing world. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967.

GRAVES, N., GRAVES, T. Adaptative strategies in urban migration. In: Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 3, 117-151, 1974.

GRAVES, T.D. Psychological Acculturation in a tri-ethnic community. In: Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 23, 337-350, 1967.

GREBLER, L., MOORE, J., GUZMAN, R. The Mexican-American People. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

GRUPO DE INVESTIGADORES LATINOAMERICANOS. Situación de los exilados Latinoamericanos en Venezuela. Sweden: Latinamerikanska kvinnoförening, 1980.

HERNANDEZ WALKER, A. Educación de transición en los hijos de los refugiados políticos. Copenhague: Københavns Universitet, Inst. for Klinisk Psykologi, 1979.

HERNANDEZ WALKER, A., PEREZ, G. Trabajo con grupos pequeños de refugiados políticos en Dinamarca. Copenhague: Københavns Universitet, 1978.

HIGGINBOTHAM, H. Cultural issues in providing psychological services for foreign students in the United States. In: International Journal of Intercultural Relations, Vol. 3, 49-85, 1979.

I.F.I.A.S. The Bellaggio Statement. Bellaggio: International Federation of Institutes for Advanced Study, 1975.

JANSEN, C. The Italian Community in Toronto. In: Elliot, J. (ed.) op. cit. 1971.

KEESING, R. Theories of culture. In: Siegel, B. (ed.) Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 3, 73-97, 1974.

KEESING, R., KEESING, F. New perspectives in cultural anthropology. New York: Rinehart & Winston, 1971.

KLEIN, M. Mourning and its relation to manic-depressive states; and A contribution to the psychogenesis of manic-depressive states. In: Klein, M. Love, Guilt and Reparation. New York: Delta Books, 1977.

KLEIN, M. Some theoretical conclusions regarding the emotional life of the infant. In: Klein, M. et al. Developments in Psychoanalysis. London: Hogart Press, 1952.

KOTTAK, C. Cultural Anthropology. New York: Random House, 1975.

KOVACS, M., CROPLEY, A. Immigrants and society: alienation and assimilation. Sydney: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975.

LAPLANCHE, J., PONTALIS, J. Diccionario de Psicoanálisis. Madrid: Edit. Labor, 1974.

LETCHER, J. The political refugee in Buenos Aires. In: Migration News, 1, 5-10, Jan-Mar, 1977.

LEVITA, D. The concept of identity. The Hague: Mouton, 1965.

LYSGAARD, S. Adjustment in a foreign society. In: International Social Science Bulletin, 7, 45-51, 1955.

MARGULIS, M. Migración y marginalidad en la sociedad argentina. Buenos Aires: Paidos, 1974.

MITCHELL, M. The Latinos. In: Today Magazine, October 25, 1980.

MORTEN, N. Flygtningens identitets problemer. Working paper, Københavns Universitet, January, 1977.

NEVES, E. Vivir en París: testimonios de un exilio. In: Araucaria de Chile, 9, 157-171, 1980.

NGUYEN, S. The mental health needs of Southeast Asian refugees. Royal Ottawa Hospital, 1981.

OBERG, K. Culture shock. Reprint A-329, Indianapolis: Bobbs Merril, 1954.

PADILLA, A. (ed.) Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings. Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1980.

PADILLA, A. The role of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty in acculturation. In: Padilla, A. (ed.) op. cit., 1980.

PERETZ, D. Reaction to Loss.

PICHON RIVIERE, E. Del psicoanálisis a la psicología social. Buenos Aires: Edit. Galerna, Tomo II, 1971.

PORTER, J. Canada: dilemmas and contradictions of a multi-ethnic society. In: Goldstein, J. and Bienvenue, R. Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

RASMUSSEN, O. et al. Tortura: estudio de víctimas chilenas y griegas. In: Amnesty International. Prueba de Tortura. London: Twentieth Century Press, 1977.

REUBENS, P. Psychological needs of the new immigrants. Communication at the Convocation of Ministry with the New Immigrant. Brooklyn, N.Y., January, 1980.

RICHARDSON, A. The assimilation of British immigrants in Australia. In: Human Relations, 10, 2, 157-166, 1957.

RICHARDSON, A. A theory and method for psychological study of assimilation. In: International Migration Review, 3-30, Fall, 1967.

RICHMOND, A. Canadian immigration: recent developments and future prospects. In: Driedger, L. (ed.) The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic. Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1978.

SCHOPF, F. Fuera de lugar. In: Araucaria de Chile, 9, 145-154, 1980.

SCHUTZ, A. The stranger. In: Schutz, A. Collected Papers, II. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.

SELLTIZ, C., COOK, S. Factors influencing attitudes of foreign students toward the host country. In: Journal of Social Issues, 18, 1, 7-23, January, 1962.

SEWELL, W., DAVIDSON, O. Scandinavian Students on an American Campus. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961.

SPRADLEY, J., McCURDY, D. Anthropology: the cultural perspective. New York: J. Willey, 1975.

SUH, M. Psychiatric problems of immigrants and refugees. In: Tepper, E. (ed.) Southeast Asian Exodus: from tradition to resettlement. Ottawa: C.A.S.A., 1980.

VASQUEZ, A. Algunos problemas psicológicos de la situación de exilio. Communication at: Conferencia Internacional sobre exilio y solidaridad en América Latina. Venezuela, Octubre, 1979.

YU, A. Language, culture, class, cognitive style in cognition. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1981.

APPENDIX

EXCERPTS FROM INTERVIEWS AND IMMIGRANTS' LETTERS

"In the loneliness of the strange city I appeal to the innermost strengths dispersed in myself, but it is also true that all the frightening phantoms and mummies of my childhood become real again."

"Strange things happen in this state of exile. I have the impression that anything could occur: being desperately alone, having to face the distance, loved ones dying in telegrams and newborns announced in letters. You are here like a childish adult, begining from the first steps, striving to build a world which you know is only provisional; you also know that you will never be able to reconstruct the same world you had before, neither here nor back there. That world that you did not destroy was simply seized from you. Sometimes it seems to me to be too much, at least for one body, as my mother used to say."

"How can I explain to my boss, in English, that I am not lazy but feel distressed, helpless and lonely, almost as I did when I was in jail?"

"In my work I got laid-off and I will never know why 'cause I couldn't ask them. I don't even know if I did something wrong or if it was something unjust. I wish I had enough English, at least for knowing these things... You come home with all this going around in your mind, with a lump in your throat and you cannot stand it any longer..."

"I have a very long work day at the railroads. However, I cannot sleep until late in the night. It is as if the only time I am myself is in the evenings when I can talk with my family and in the nights when I can read newspapers and books in Spanish. I wish I knew English but really I can't learn. I was a trade union leader in my country but I don't know what is happening to me now."

"To be an immigrant or a refugee is like being born again. The problem is that you don't start from zero; you are born with 25, 40 or 50 years on your back. To be born and to learn everything as if you were a child but being old, with all the pros and cons, with your shortcomings and virtues, with your bitter experiences and your good ones, with a body that has already suffered and with eyes that have seen a lot."

"In the Canadian embassy in Santiago they told me that I would likely be able to find a job related with my experience and education. I was at that time fired as many other professors from my position at the university. I was frank with them, I said: 'I don't know how to work with my hands'. They answered that they were selecting me because of my background, with my fluency in English maybe I could even get a job in Manpower and Immigration to help my co-nationals. I ended up as a warehouse man..."

"I arrived here nine months ago. To be an immigrant or a refugee is a kind of misfortune in itself; look what the Greeks had to say about that. However, in Canada, I feel protected in some way. I have a job which is not very good but I believe there are a lot of opportunities open for me and my family. I am making all possible efforts to integrate, I am learning English after work, I read the newspaper with the local news, I don't like the sports, for instance, but I am forcing myself to understand hockey and I will try to be interested in whatever Canadians are interested in."

"Here you need time, not only for learning the language, for going to school, but time for yourself. Time for finding your place, time for recognizing yourself in the new

situation, time for reorientation. And for that there is no school, I think... But how do you find the time if you work most of the day?"

"I brought three suits that I bought in Argentina to come here, but they are in the closet, I have never used them. I think that I had the idea we were coming to a developed country and I did not want to feel bad because I would have no money to buy clothes."

"I feel like ivy without the supporting wall..."

"In your culture things flow naturally, there is some structure which is partially unconscious and you don't think about it. In a different culture, everything has to be planned carefully and even tested before you do it. It is difficult to be spontaneous, you can make many mistakes. There are so many things that you cannot take for granted that it is tiring and stressing."

"I am with a permanent headache, with a lot of anxiety, anguish... crying very often. There are too many things I have to grieve for. Of course I am grieving for mine as well as my husband's losses. He doesn't seem

to care about it; he is too busy being optimistic about the future. I know I will overcome it, but when I feel bad I have to live this sensation, I should not by-pass these feelings. It is painful, it costs me rage and tears and yet they are part of my life now. In a short time, if I am able to have friends here, to find some meaning for my life besides the damned money I will feel better I am sure. I simply would like to have the freedom of being depressed for the time being, of course, I don't like to be in a melancholic state, but my God!... the pressures I receive from outside are just nonsense: 'be nice', 'you're okay', 'smile in front of the mirror', 'do exercises in the morning', 'being busy keeps you out of trouble', and things like that. I don't want to hold back my feelings and to erase my past just by being busy and stunned. I can't, I really can't. Maybe it would be nice if I could. I only want to understand what happened to me, accept it, and see what my possibilities are, and go ahead when it is time to do that. I am not hiding under the bed, I only claim the right to live as a human being not as a robot. The pain is as human as the smiles but you need to experience both heartily."

"The city seemed to me a lot bigger than I thought. I was told Edmonton had about 500,000 inhabitants. A city

with this number of inhabitants, with our high population density, is quite small in Latin America. I also thought that in the morning I would be able to see the oil towers by my window... In general, the impression was of a huge space, a lot of gardens, grass all over, big cars... In the morning I went to a shopping center, my wife was waiting at the motel. I was impressed. I found it luxurious, gigantic and I said to myself: this must be what they call 'development'. I felt so inadequate, the only thing I had to buy were two small bags of tea!"

"What I miss most is the communitarian type of life we used to live over there. I have the feeling that everybody there is involved in something bigger than his own life. People do not act individually, they are not self-sufficient. Every human being is attracted by public issues, they feel really involved, they believe, participate and take some risks, at least they have opinions. Over here, only a few people express their opinions, the others seem to keep them to themselves."

"Participation here... is so reduced to non-important affairs; you can be a 'block representative', for example, and your block can get a traffic light installed where it is necessary, but, please!, let's not fool ourselves, this is a pyramidal system and we are at the bottom. Whether we participate or not is almost the same."

"This is one of the few places left in the world where you can still live comfortably, with a lot of green spaces, without violence, where the people smile - and I don't care whether it is formally or not -, where the people don't go to extreme positions. And on top of all this, they have a kind of individual responsibility which causes me great admiration. They don't blame the government, the authorities, the system, or anybody else for their failures as we usually do."

"I am delighted with the efficiency of services here. You can ride any bus and usually you will find seats, nobody will push you, schools, hospitals, you name it, everything is almost perfect."

"At the very begining I thought it would be very easy to make Canadian friends, being that the people are so friendly. At first, people always show an interest in you: where do you come from? ... Chile? oh, how nice!... what is your name?... and so on. After a few minutes, however, the conversation is dying because the people are in a hurry, because they don't have the time, or because they don't want to make the effort of enduring your struggle for words, your accent, or whatever. What is true is that I have

never met anybody who laughed at me for that. As time passes, however, and you are hopelessly alone, you wish they did not have so much formal respect for you, you wish to find somebody laughing or correcting your accent if it means that this person really cares for you. Is it so difficult to see that we are neither children nor dumb, but only that we don't know their language? I guess it is, because it also happened to me, but in the opposite sense. When I began to understand English everything which was said in this language seemed to me beautifully expressed and, above all, important. Canadians were 'undoubtedly' more intelligent than I was. It took me some time to separate the 'wheat from the straw' and to realize how much nonsense you can say in English as well as in Spanish. You also being to feel you are not really interested in taking with 'Canadians' in general, in the same way you are tired of meeting people for the only reason that they speak your language. So you start to discriminate the important from the non-important, the meaningful and the meaningless ... It was a big discovery for me, which I don't know how to explain. It is as if you learn how to communicate with people beyond language and culture barriers, but at the same time language and culture are at the very core of the communication."